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MY LIFE

NAWAB SERVER-UL-MULK,
Bahadur.

MY LIFE

BEING THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF
NAWAB SERVER-UL-MULK BAHADUR

TRANSLATED BY HIS SON
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FOREWORD

> " Since I am sworn to live my life,
> And not to bear an easy heart—
> Some men may sit and dream apart—
> I bear a banner in the strife.
>
> " Some can take quiet thought to wife ;
> I am all day at tierce and carte,
> Since I am sworn to live my life,
> And not to bear an easy heart."
>
> —R. L. STEVENSON.

THE autobiography of my father, Nawab Server-ul-Mulk Bahadur, is an epitome of the political and social history of Hyderabad, between 1869 and 1897, the years respectively of his arrival at and departure from Hyderabad. Of all the prominent characters who staged the scene and played their part in those stormy days, my father's work lay behind the scenes, and none but those who came into contact with him intimately, knew of the silent and unostentatious manner in which he exerted himself.

The confidential records of the State are a permanent and standing testimony to the work that he has done. With the exception, however, of the privileged few, none can gain access to those records, for they form part of the State Archives, which are, as it were, a sealed book to the public ; and so it is no wonder that we know so little of the life of the one man who stood head and shoulders above his contemporaries.

After passing through many vicissitudes, my father began his career as a tutor to the sons of Sir Salar Jung I ; later he became tutor to His Highness the late Nizam, and was finally his most trusted, devoted and self-sacrificing Secretary. Of all persons, he was the last man to step into the limelight, and that especially after close upon thirty years of severance from active participation in the political life of Hyderabad ; and it was only after much persuasion that my youngest brother, Mirza Yahiya Beg (of beloved memory), succeeded in getting him to jot down some features of his life. But even if he had been willing to do so, he could not, for obvious reasons, have given fuller details of the matters dealt with than he has done ; nor could he, in any case, have mentioned certain matters of prime political importance, for they were such that must necessarily remain hidden from the public gaze. And, further, even if there were no question of divulging secrets of State, the very fact that some of the characters delineated by him are still living, would be a sufficient reason for withholding many incidents that would be interesting from an historical point of view. The omitted details with regard to men and matters may perhaps, at some future date, be given in a second edition of this work.

In regard to the incidents that are mentioned in this book, I may say at once that some of them may be found in many historical works dealing with Hyderabad affairs. But there they are based either on hearsay or have reached the writers indirectly through not very reliable sources ; while here you find them depicted by the very man who took an active part in them.

The original autobiography is in Urdu, and is written in choice language and in a style which could only be attained by a Delhi man, and one who had intimate associations with the Red Fort, where the best and most elegant Urdu was spoken. I took upon myself the responsibility of translating this work into English for the benefit of the English-reading public. I trust the English and the Urdu version of the biography will be published simultaneously.

A translator is beset with many difficulties—some of them insurmountable—because the languages differ vastly from a philological point of view. I have, therefore, been obliged to translate some portions freely and to resort to English idioms to convey the sense. I have not given much thought to the spelling of Urdu, Persian and Arabic words, as I did not think much could be gained by doing so, seeing that there are so many styles, and to have made a careful distinction might have served only to make confusion worse confounded. The phonetic spelling of words has therefore been retained all through. I have in addition only added dates and given short notes where they were required.

I have drawn upon the following works freely: "*Bostan Asafia,*" "*Life of General Fraser,*" "*Hyderabad Affairs,*" compiled by the late Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk Bahadur, Blunt's "*India under Ripon,*" and Fraser's "*Our Faithful Ally, the Nizam.*"

My thanks are due to my friend Mr. K. Clement Jones, M.R.A.S. (London), for the help he has unhesitatingly given me in going over the translation with me.

In conclusion I can only refer to the thrills and pleasure felt by the author, a devoted and loyal servant, who, in the face of grave personal danger, was determined to serve his master to the end. His piety was deep, if unobtrusive; and a heart more steadily loyal to his country, to his family, to friends and comrades of every degree, and, not least, to his own manly, upright self, could not be found in the length and breadth of the land.

> "I would serve my King,
> Serve him with all my fortune here at home,
> And serve him with my person in the wars;
> Watch for him, fight for him, bleed for him, die for him,
> As every true-born subject ought."

JIVAN YAR JUNG.

NAWAB SERVER JUNG BAHADUR

(From " Glimpses of the Nizam's Dominions," published by C. B. Burrows in 1898).

THE Nawab Agha Mirza Beg Khan, Server Jung, Server-ud-Dowlah, Server-ul-Mulk Bahadur, is a Chaghathai Moghul of the clan of Berlass, and belongs to one of the noblest families of Delhi. He is related to the imperial family by ties of clanship and marriage. The Nawab's ancestors held high offices under the Emperors, and subsequently under the English. One of them, Ashraf-ud-Dowlah, Mirza Ashraf Beg Khan, helped Lord Lake at the great battle of Koel. Jawad-ud-Dowlah Mirza Afzul Beg Khan, another of his ancestors, was the nobleman who sent the celebrated Raja Ramohan Roy to England to represent to the British Parliament the grievances of the Emperor of Delhi.

Agha Mirza Beg was born at Delhi in 1848. He lost his father when he was only a child, and was brought up by his uncle, Mirza Abbas Beg Khan, who being himself childless, brought up the Agha and his brothers as his own children, and left his Jagirs to them. This gentleman's name is well known to the Government of India. His conspicuous services during the Punjab wars made him a special favourite with Sir Henry Lawrence, and when Sir Henry was transferred to Oudh, he took the Mirza with him. Sir Henry was killed in Lucknow, but the Mirza's services were recognised after the Mutiny by Lord Canning. He was created a Talukdar of Oudh, and the confiscated State of Baday Gaon, in the district of Sitapur, was granted to him in perpetuity ; and this State is still in possession of the family.

The family having removed from Delhi to Lucknow, the Agha was educated at the Canning College, under the special patronage of General L. Barrow, the Chief Commissioner of Oudh, who was a great friend and patron of the family. Before he died, General Barrow recommended the Agha to Sir Salar Jung I, at the request of Mirza Abbas Beg, who himself was well known to the great statesmen of Hyderabad.

The Agha went to Hyderabad in 1872, and there Sir Salar Jung extended to him a reception befitting his birth and position, and entrusted him with the charge of the education of his own sons, the Nawab Salar Jung II, and the Nawab Munir-ul-Mulk, boys then of ten and eleven years old.

His Highness the Nizam had not then commenced his education, which was still a subject of correspondence between his guardian and the Imperial Government. Sir Salar Jung I had chosen Captain John Clerk to be superintendent of His Highness's education, but a native gentleman of birth and education was required to help the Captain in this important work. The guardians of His Highness chose the Agha for the delicate task, and as soon as Captain Clerk arrived at Hyderabad they consulted him on the matter. He tested the Agha for a few days, and then, on his expressing himself as satisfied with him, the latter was appointed his assistant. Thenceforward the Agha's progress was a rapid one.

The great Minister retained full confidence in the Agha until his death, while the rest of the great Nobles of the State, such as the Nawab Rashid-ud-din Khan (the second Amir-i-Kabir), the Nawab Sir Khurshed Jah (the present Amir-i-Kabir), and the Maharaja Peshkar, all valued his services.

The Agha's devotion and loyalty to his Sovereign master won for him the same attachment from His Highness the Nizam. In the same way that his ancestors had won approbation and reward for their loyalty in the British Service, and while his other relations were distinguishing themselves in the Imperial Service, even outside India—such as the Moulvi Sami-ullah Khan Bahadur, who won his C.M.G. by helping Lord Northbrook in settling political difficulties in Egypt—the Agha was doing his work quietly and unostentatiously and earning a similar distinction by his services to " Our Faithful Ally," the Nizam.

Then came the great occasion of His Highness's installation, and at the very first Durbar his Royal Master rewarded the Agha's loyal services with the ancient title of Nawab Server Jung Bahadur, and a perpetual pension of Rs. 700/- a month. He was not allowed to rest quietly at home, however, but was constantly at the elbow of his Sovereign to help him in his work.

To write the life of the Nawab Server Jung since the installation of His Highness the Nizam, would be to record the political history of the State for that period, which does not fall within the scope of the present publication. Suffice it to say that the Nawab still continues to enjoy the high esteem of his master and Sovereign, although he has thought fit to retire from active service for a time.

The title of Dowlah and Mulk were recently conferred on the Nawab by His Highness the Nizam.

MY LIFE

> " Who will have patience to hear my story,
> And that, too, from my own lips ? "

I WAS born in the early hours of the morning on Tuesday of the month of Zilhajia, in the year 1264 H.* (1848 A.D.). My parents (*requiescant in pace !*) lived in Faraskhana with my aunt, and they gave me the name of Agha Mirza. The house in which I was born was a double-storied building, the lower portion of which consisted of a dhalan in a dhalan, with rooms to the right and left, and with a courtyard in front for kitchen, etc. To the left was the entrance gate, and in front of this were small side-rooms. The upper story was a small courtyard with a verandah and side rooms.

I have described the house for this reason, that there is a strange story connected with my birth, which I have heard from my mother. My late mother was a saintly person, who was acquainted with the necessary tenets of Islam, and had read the translation and commentaries of the Koran† by Abdul Kader (on whom be peace !). Her tutor was one, Syed Hussain (a brother-in-law of the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan), who had taught the Koran and the necessary principles of the Holy Religion to his women relations; and it was from a copy of the true draft of the translation of the Koran by the Shah Sahib, which she had, that my mother, in due course, made me read the Koran. Possibly this Koran may still be with Sajjid Beg or Wajid Beg—I only hope that they have kept it safely. Be that as it may, the story which my mother told me is this. In one of the rooms of the upper story, a saintly, elderly person used to live, whom my late aunt used to address as her brother. My aunt never used to allow any of the household to go upstairs, she herself keeping that part of the house clean and tidy; but when occasion arose, she would go up to that elderly person and consult him, and more often than not he used to help her. Regarding this, my mother gave me an instance. One night my aunt was about to say her "Isha" (evening) prayers, when a sugar-cane seller passed by. Seeing him, my aunt expressed her regret that she had no money, or she would purchase the sugar-cane, and then, the next moment, something fell near her feet with a slight thud; and when she had sent for a lamp, she found that what had fallen was a rupee, with the "Kalma" inscribed on it. She picked it up and said that she would keep it as a charm.

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* *The Mohammedan Year.* The Mohammedan year consists of 12 lunar months, of 30 and 29 days alternately. The common year consists of 352 days, but with intercalary days in certain years allowed for, the mean year consists of 354 and eleven-thirtieths days. Inasmuch as a solar year consists of 365¼ days. the difference between that and the Mohammedan Calendar year amounts to nearly 11 days ; and consequently any given month in a Mohammedan year goes the round of the seasons in course of time.

† The Koran is not a series of books like the Christian Scriptures, but is one book, with a series of divisions of varying length, which are called Suras, i.e. Chapters. There are 114 Suras in all. The Koran contains 77,639 words and 323,015 letters. The revelation of these Suras extended over a period of 23 years. Thus the Koran is a revelation *literatim et verbatim*, and came, piece by piece, when it was required. The Suras are arranged according to their length, the shortest being at the end of the book.

My father, who was deeply learned in Persian and Arabic, and had also secured a diploma in Mathematics from Roorkee, had no faith in that elderly person; but one night when he was sleeping alone on the upper story, he suddenly awoke to find that someone had caught hold of his toes and lifted him so high, that his head alone rested on the pillow. He also found that that person was pressing him to the right and left; and so, as he was feeling great pain, he confessed his fault and asked to be forgiven. Then the person in question pulled him towards himself, and then let his legs fall on the railing of the bed. My father, having escaped from this painful position, immediately went downstairs and spoke to his sister, as to what had happened to him.

When I was about to be born my aunt sent for Shah Rafiuddin (Peace be upon him!), and told him to go to a certain room on the upper story, where he would find an elderly person who addressed her as his sister, and to convey to him her greetings, and then, after telling him that there was going to be an accouchement in her house, which would make it impossible for the house to be kept tidy and clean, to ask him if she should make arrangements for the accouchement to take place at another house.

The Shah Sahib accordingly went upstairs, and standing before the room, clapped his hands. A sound emanated from inside asking him to come in. At first he found the room empty, but after a little while, he saw that a person was sitting on the prayer-carpet, with a cloth round his loins. He had a long beard, and a distinguished and saintly mien.

The Shah Sahib conveyed my aunt's message to him, and he at once answered that on no account was she to remove into another house, and that he himself would take the new-born babe under his protection.—" Only be careful," he added, " that no woman or child comes upstairs."

In short, my mother told me that after she had given birth to me, whenever in the night I threw away the coverings, shaking them off with my legs, that elderly person would cover me up at once, and that when my nurse used to fall asleep, and I cried for milk, he used to awake the nurse.

When the fortieth day after the confinement drew near, my aunt again sent Shah Rafiuddin to the gentleman upstairs, with a message to the effect that there was going to be a feast, at which all women relatives, and their children and servants, etc., would congregate, and that as that would mean, if the feast were held in her house, that she again would not be able to take the precaution of keeping the house tidy, she would hold the party in another house. But again that gentleman would not agree to her doing that, and sent down word that he also wished to share in the enjoyment.

When the day arrived, and the guests assembled, my aunt herself went upstairs and said loudly : " My brother, these guests are unaware of your presence, and possibly they may take fright at one of your acts, in which case my hospitality to them would be marred."

A voice from the room replied :

" O my sister, keep your heart at rest. Your guests are my guests, and I hold myself responsible to welcome them."

The next day, when all the guests had assembled, this gentleman took to a new mode of sharing in the enjoyment: that is to say, he began to steal the jewellery and the dresses of the ladies. A great hubbub was the result. One lady complained that she had lost her necklace, and another her box; another could not find her shawl, and yet another blamed the servant of another for taking her things.

My aunt, in a great rage, went upstairs and began to abuse that gentleman, and to call on him to return all these things forthwith, or her enjoyment would turn into sorrow and her hospitality would be lost; and a voice replied to her, saying, "Go downstairs—all those things will be sent down to you." And my aunt came down.

At that time all the guests were sitting down to dinner, and then, all of a sudden, a grating sound was heard from the ceiling, and on everyone present raising their heads, they saw that somebody's shawl was hanging from the roof and sailing down towards them, while some saw their anklets floating in the air. The sight was enough for the ladies to fly shrieking in all directions, a great disturbance being the result, one lady becoming hysterical, and another fainting. After this, palki after palki was summoned to take these ladies home, and the party was thus abruptly terminated.*

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* *Discarnate Spirits*—living creatures with no physical bodies.

Suggestions—Merely *thought forms or objective mental* images, absorbed, so to speak, by places where they are enacted, and so that in certain circumstances these impressions may be projected in invisible or audible form.

Another type of "haunting" must also be mentioned, namely, the somewhat unpleasant "poltergeist" phenomena. "Poltergeist"—a German word which means "racketing spirit"—is the name given to the spirit which is supposed to be active in haunted houses, where furniture is lifted, china smashed, etc., apparently through no material agency.

Explanation—Certain people give off quite involuntarily an invisible non-material substance, which, when seized upon by some irresponsible native spirit (or elemental), affords it sufficient material force to play its pranks.

This same etheric substance, known variously as "Plasma ectoplasm or bioplasm," is also said to be the basis of the "Materialization" phenomena known to spiritualists.

The Britannica Home University, First Series, No. IV.—Psychology.

My mother told me that after that we left the house, and removed into another, and that there was only one further occasion on which this gentleman was ever seen. That was like this.

In the Fort, a princess was taken ill, and became almost mad. My mother called on her one day, for "mizaj pursi," and then the princess, seeing my mother, wished her "Salaam Aleikum," and asked whether she had recognized her. My mother was greatly frightened at this, but the princess asked her not to be afraid and said, "I am the same person who used to look after your child, who was born in my house. I have a regard for that child." My mother came away at once from there in great terror.

BOYHOOD.—My aunt died while I was a child, and I do not even remember her face. After my aunt's death, my uncle Mirza Ashur Beg took us to his house, and there I grew up. But my mother sometimes used to live near the Delhi Gate.

My uncle loved me very much and always kept me near himself. He liked my antics, and nobody ever dared to thwart me in my play. One day, when I inflicted a wound on the head of his third son, Mirza Khudadad Beg, both my aunt and my mother wanted to punish me; but my uncle warned them not to do so, and himself carried me away.

It often happened that whilst at table I would go and play about, and would say, "Uncle, Elephant!" and he would then immediately go on all-fours, and I would get on his back. He made me almost a despot.

One day my father had spread a plan on the ground, and was trying to fill it up with different colours, when I came jumping along and striking about with my hands, with the result that the colour fell all over the paper. Annoyed at seeing his labour of a few days lost, my father struck me on the face, and that at once caused other trouble, for my uncle arrived with a stick in his hand, and threatened my father. However, others came in between and separated them, but for a week or two my father had not the courage to approach my uncle. At last, however, pardon was sought and given, and they became friends again, as usual.—To this day I pray for the repose of my late uncle's soul, at the time of the " Isha " prayers.

I remained in this house till 1857.

I still remember a lot of incidents that occurred during the Mutiny. If a European soldier were seen, the children clapped their hands and called out " Loo ! . . . Loo ! " and threw pebbles at him. When the mutineers entered the City, our houses were kept well guarded.

I well remember that when the Indians entered the City it was morning time. I was going with my servant, Rahim Baksh, to my maternal uncle's house in the Bulaki Begum Street, and when we reached the " Dhareeba," we saw people running in all directions, in fright. Rahim Baksh, a well-made, strong man, at once lifted me on his back and bolted. When we reached our aunt's house, the gate was being closed, but Rahim Baksh struck at the gate, and entered it with such force, that, inside, we both fell prone, and hurt ourselves badly. After a day or two, however, we became used to the new conditions, and I returned to my own house.

The mutineers in the City and the English on the Ridge fought for about six months.

It was hot weather at the time, and every night we used to see the glare of the cannon-balls passing overhead ; and we considered them pyrotechnics. One day a cannon-ball tore through the roof of the upper story and fell on to the verandah, where we were having our meal. My uncle at once ran towards it and threw a lot of water over it.

I used to receive tuition from an Afghan Moulvi. (People who come from the frontier of Afghanistan, either as students or fruit-sellers, are called " Vilayatis.") This Moulvi, a strongly-built man, with a big head and long hair falling down to his shoulders, was an expert in telling beads and reciting prayers. One day he came to my father, and said that God Almighty had conferred a great boon on men these days, and it was a pity that we did not avail ourselves of it ; and when my father asked what the boon was, he replied, " Jehad and Martyrdom."

My father tried to do his best to dissuade him, but he was in ecstasy for martyrdom, and finally, with a turban on his head, a sword at his waist, and a rifle in his hand, he departed. On taking leave, he told my father to keep whatever portion of salary was due to him, adding that if he came back he would take it, but otherwise the money was to be spent on his " Fateha " ceremony.

As he was for some time lost sight of, my father believed he had come by the death which he desired so much, and accordingly spent the money he had left behind in preparing food, etc., for the " Fateha " ceremony; but then, as he stood up to recite the prayer, the Moulvi put in his appearance and made a good meal of the things prepared for the ceremony. He then got ready to depart again at once, and my father said to him that this " Fateha " could be taken as one for God, and that he should take his money back; but the Moulvi replied, first, that he was not entitled to it, and, secondly, that if my father wished to give it to him, then he still should keep it, because it might be required for the same ceremony later on.

My father told him it was not right that he should remain alive to eat food prepared in honour of his " Fateha," and that he should therefore take away the money. But the Moulvi refused to, and went away without it.

He never came back, and eventually my father performed the " Fateha " for him. In this fight which lasted for six months, Kalay Khan (the bombardier) made a great reputation for himself, and used to fire his cannon with precision on the Ridge.

The " Poorbhyas," one and all, considered themselves to be under the orders of nobody. They even went to the length of taking liberties with Abu Zafar Mahomed Bahadur Shah, saying openly, " Who is king ? The king is one whom we make—he is the king."

I well remember the day that my uncle, in court dress, with a turban on his head, and a belt round his waist, went to the king and demanded some troops in order to fight the British. The king replied : " Umma, I do not possess troops to give you. I am 80 years old and infirm. This fight is not mine. Mutinous troops are fighting. If you have a desire to fight, then go to the officers of these troops and settle it with them." And it happened as the king said.

My uncle then took two companies of troops outside the city. There he came into contact with the Europeans, near Hingunghat, and brought away several cart-loads of booty, which he deposited in the " Jalao Khana " of his house. The next day, the officers came to him and demanded a distribution of the booty, but he said that they were not entitled to it, and asked them to go away. They and my father (Peace be on him!) tried their best to obtain his agreement, saying that this dispute was not proper, and that there was danger of the troops getting out of hand; but my uncle would not hear of making any division. The officers then went away, saying that they would see about it the next day. On the morrow information was brought that these men, with a squad of armed soldiers, were coming, bent on mischief, and preparations were made to withstand their attack; and Nawab Zia-ud-Dowlah, with his servants, having come to the help of his brother-in-law, the gate was closed, and the servants posted at selected places with swords and guns.

My uncle and his elder son, Mirza Ahmed Baig, (of blessed memory!) were busy here and there making arrangements. My father and Nawab Zia-ud-Dowlah, getting a respite, consulted together, and decided that at all costs peace should be secured. After this consultation, they said to my uncle that he should, with a few of his servants, go on the roof of the house, in order that they should the more easily be able to fire the guns, while they would remain at the gate to prevent the troops entering the house. In pursuance of this advice, my uncle went on the upper story, and Nawab Zia-ud-Dowlah closed the door of the staircase and locked it. He then, with my father, went to the gate and opened it, and began to arrange for peace with the officers, who, with the troops, had then come close up. The officers declared that Mirza Sahib was unnecessarily stubborn, and they said that now, even if they were to remain silent, the troops would not do so. It was finally decided that the troops should stand further out, that the officers should have a look at the booty, and that then distribution of it should take place. But when the locked doors were opened, the officers saw that the rooms contained nothing but old shirts, boots and hats, and other odds and ends, and they expressed their astonishment that my uncle, the Mirza Sahib, was ready to fight for such things. They then sent for the soldiers to have a look at the booty, and after these had all said that Mirza Sahib was welcome to it, the officers, with bands playing, turned back.

In the meanwhile, my uncle and his son, and their servants, were ready with powder and shot, waiting for the troops to advance near enough to attack them.

Nawab Zia-ud-Dowlah now had the rooms locked as before, and then, having opened the door of the staircase, called up to his brother-in-law and informed him that the enemy were placated and that there was no danger to be apprehended.

On the day the English attacked the City and took possession of the Kashmiri Gate, the City people began to fly in all directions in fear and trepidation. At that time, Nawab Zia-ud-Dowlah, together with his servants and grown-up sons, returned to the place called " Kanchan Koocha," so that they might all be congregated at one place ; and there they remained, waiting to see what destiny had in store for them.

My father and Nawab Zia-ud-Dowlah desired that all the womenfolk, servants and men, should, while it was still possible for them to do so—for the English had not yet entered the City—leave the City as the other people were doing ; but my uncle would not agree to this. The reason for this was, that he was an adept in Astrology and " Rummel," and had prophesied that the English would be defeated. (Mirza Ahmed Beg had also learnt these sciences, and from his father, and with his father's permission had thrown the dice ; but the forecast he had arrived at, was that the English would enter the City on a certain day. On learning this, my uncle was very angry, and said to his son that he regretted that he had remained ignorant, so far as these sciences were concerned.)

My father with great regret returned to the Delhi Gate, so that he should escort his own people, with the necessary things, to his elder brother's house ; but he did not succeed in this, for suddenly a great hue and cry was raised in the City, and in every street and by-lane, hand-to-hand fights ensued. White soldiers, together with the Indians and Afghans, armed with all sorts of weapons, drunk with victory, and full of the spirit of looting, made no distinction between woman and child, or old and young ; and rivers of blood flowed. Then, entering the zenanas, the various bodies of men began to loot and rob, while the ladies—of whom Firdusi has correctly said, " Not even the sun had penetrated to the skin of their bodies, which were so closely veiled "—unaware of the fate of their husbands, fled in all directions.

The gate of the city was close to our house, and my father and my maternal uncle, Mohamed Ebrahim Khan, with the ladies and children and servants, fled through it in great hurry and terror and took refuge in the ruins round about the tomb of the Saint, Syed Hassan Rusool Numah.

Here, later, we were joined by our old servants, Rahim Baksh and Ghulam Rasool, fully armed, and from them we learned of the death of my uncle and Nawab Zia-ud-Dowlah. It appeared that, having armed themselves, they had, with the ladies of their house, and the children and servants, left the house on foot, but that in the Chowk, or close to it, they had encountered " one-eyed Metcalfe," and in the fighting that ensued, had both been killed; while it was not known what had become of the women and children. The effect of this news on the audience was so sad, that it cannot be described.

And our own state was sorrowful enough, for we were in fear of our lives and property from both sides—on the one hand the mutineers, and on the other, the English and their followers; and it appeared to us that the two parties were vieing with each other as to which should carry the day in pillage and robbery.

I remember an incident that occurred shortly after our flight from our home. I and some other children of my own age were playing under a tamarind-tree,* outside the Dargah, when one of us, who had climbed the tree, and was throwing down the fruit, saw the khaki-soldiers coming in our direction. And then one of the latter, with a drawn sword, made for us. We children at once ran towards the ruins, calling out that the khaki-soldiers had come, and men and women, hearing this, began to fly hither and thither. However, as luck would have it, the soldier in question, after having advanced a few paces, turned back and joined his company; and we all felt greatly relieved.

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* The *Tamarindus Indica* (or *Occidentalis*).

Our two servants above-mentioned, would go out every day, and, joining the other looters, bring back various eatables, such as rice, mutton, jaggery and wheat flour, all mixed together, and these were thrown indiscriminately into a pot, which, full of water, was kept balanced on three stones. Then, whoever felt hungry, would cautiously approach this pot, satisfy himself or herself, and that done, crawl away, under shelter of the wall, and hide.

We heard from these men that my maternal aunt and her companions—men and women relatives—were staying in the Ice Factory close by, and so, scrambling along, we made our way there, and found that guards were posted all round, and that everybody was living without fear and in plenty. We also found that my maternal uncle* had sent from Alwar (he having previously secured passports from the English) all sorts of conveyances—camels, carts, palkis, etc., and a large sum of money.

Here, after our arrival, other relatives also assembled. For instance, among others, Bhaday Khojum Sahib and Chotay Khojum Sahib (the latter the translator of "Boistan-a-Kial"), cousins of my uncle, and my uncle's second son, Mirza Mahmood Beg.

We left for Alwar in a well-to-do condition. On the road, after passing a few stages, Mohd. Fakruddin Khan, with his wife and children, met us. He was the only son of my late aunt, and the beloved grandson and son-in-law of Nawab Dabir-ul-Mulk Asadullah Khan Ghalib.

He and his party joined us, and on the journey a daughter was born to him,† who is now my wife, and the mother of my ten learned and fortunate children. She was Nawab Makhole Begum, by title, Nawab Secunder Zamani Begum.

We lived in grand style in Alwar, my father being appointed to the post of "Hukumdari" of a district called Puttookari; and I well remember the life we passed there.

Outside the town was a tank, and under the shade of trees, cows, buffaloes, etc., sat chewing the cud, while the herdsmen, with a covering over them, lay fast asleep on the bare ground. We would play with the village urchins during the day, on the borders of the tank, and in the evening would follow in the wake of the cattle and sheep, who would raise a cloud of dust, bleating and lowing on their way home. Then the village women would bring wild berries and other fruit of the jungle, curds, and milk, etc., as presents to my mother ; and I wondered whether we should ever pass such pleasant days again. Indeed, we had had but a few days in peace and quiet here, when a change in fortune occurred and one for the worse.

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* Nawab Amin-ullah Khan alias Munshi Ummoo Jan, Prime Minister of the Alwar State.

† Sept., 1857.

The Maharajah of Alwar, Shur Dhayan Singh, was still a child when he became an orphan. On his deathbed, the Maharajah had placed the hand of his son into the hands of my maternal uncle, with the dying wish that he should bring him up and educate him, and also look after the State till the boy attained his age of discretion. The Maharajah Shur Dhayan Singh came often to our house, and was very courteous towards my aunt, whom he called Mother, and his mother, the Ranee, sent presents to my aunt. (My uncle was the eldest of three brothers. The one younger than he, Nawab Fazlullah Khan, was Dewan of the State, and the next one, the youngest of the three, Inamullah Khan, was Bakshi (Paymaster of the Troops). At these amenities, the "Thakurs" of the State and the "Minars," became alarmed, fearing that these Delhi people would convert the Maharajah to Islam, and, finally, Thakur Lukdare Singh, who was the Maharajah's own uncle and an influential "rais" (magnate) of the place, of a sudden rebelled, and, attacking our houses one night, with a large body of Thakurs and Minars, succeeded, after some bloodshed in entering. Nawab Ammoo Jan jumped over a wall towards the stables, and falling on a haystack, hid himself in the grass ; but the Dewan and the Bakshi were made prisoners.

This news was conveyed to the Ranee and the Maharajah, and they at once sent word to Lukdare Singh, that they would take poison if the lives of the Nawabs were in any way endangered ; and accordingly Lukdare Singh withheld his hand, and only placed guards around the house. He also placed guards throughout the city wherever the Delhi people lived. But these "Minars" looted us to their hearts' content.

The next day Lukdare Singh, sending elephants, camels, palkis, and other conveyances, and also carts for the luggage, had word conveyed to the Nawabs that they, together with their belongings, should leave the City and the State. And similar messages and conveyances were sent to every Delhi man. In short, under the "Zoolum" (Tyranny) of the Minars, and completely ruined, we were deported from the State.

A strange accident overtook us on the road. On the way there was a river which is called Sahibi. It was usually dry, but at the latter end of the rainy season, it overflowed its banks, while, for some unaccountable reason, it would, on occasion have water in it at other seasons also ; and at these times it flowed with such force that an elephant, trying to cross it, would be lifted off its feet and taken along with the current.

Now, our two uncles, Bhaday Khojum Sahib and Chotay Khojum Sahib, and my father, who were in palkis (we children, with men and women, were in carts), got to the river before us, and so, crossing it, they waited for us on the other side, under a large tree.

In due course we, too, reached the river. The banks were high, but there was a path for the carts, and these, one after the other, were let down, but when we had gone a little more than half way across—that is, we had passed the middle of the river and were about to climb up the opposite bank—all of a sudden dreadful sounds were heard. It appeared to us as if several hundreds of cannon were fired all at once. The explanation of the noise was, that the river was in flood. There was a custom-house under the large tree, where custom officials were posted, and they, knowing the ways of the river, had, one and all, assembled on the bank, to bawl out to the cart men, to hurry on, as the river was about to be flooded. But do what the drivers might, the bullocks could hardly be expected to hurry on in the sand.

These "chowkidars" now began to throw out big thick ropes for the purpose of tying the carts together, and when, the other end of the rope had been tied to the tree, the chowkidars, together with the palki carriers, held fast to them. We remained sitting in the carts, but cousin Mahmood Beg, as ill-luck would have it, tried to jump out of the cart he was in, and his leg slipping into the axle of the wheel, he remained hanging there·

While this was going on with us, farther up the river, as far as the eye could reach, a funny sight was to be seen. A black wall, looking as if it reached to the sky made its appearance, and terrified us by the sounds it made.

One of the servants, with presence of mind, released Mahmood Beg from his perilous position ; but that wall reached us in the twinkling of an eye, and, striking us with great force, raised the carts and the bullocks to such a height that we thought that we were raised to the topmost branch of the tree opposite. The onflow of water passed in as short a time as it had taken to reach us, and then, the chowkidars beginning to loosen the ropes, the carts were lowered. The force of the flood had taken them out of the line of the ghaut (landing-place), but the ropes had prevented them from getting so very far out of the way, and while the bullocks and the carts were still swimming in water, those on the other bank began to pull the ropes towards them ; and before the channel was emptied they were able to draw the carts on to the ghaut.

Our condition was indescribable. Soaked through by the water, we were still suffering from the shock caused by the fear of impending death from drowning, while the cold breeze of the maidan and jungle added to our discomfort. That we escaped with our lives was, however, enough to be thankful for. The food and the uncooked eatables that we had with us, were all completely spoilt.

It was decided that we must go on to our destination in our present plight, but the custom officials, bent on creating mischief, now wanted to see all our belongings. The quarrel over this almost ended in a fight, but my father gave them some money, and then we were able, in our helpless state, to go forward. This we did by stages, till we reached a small village called Shiddipura, situated outside the City of Delhi.

Here Mirza Abdulla Beg, alias Mirza Doolah, the grandson of our ancestor, Mirza Jewan Beg Khan, was staying with his family and he was in such affluent circumstances, that he had in those days taken up a contract for running a tonga service up to Agra and Cawnpur, and everywhere horses were stabled. We remained with him.

Here, later, my aunt, with her two sons, Khudadad

Beg and Rafiuddin Beg (the latter an infant) and her daughter, Abadi Begum, joined us, and told us the full story of how the martyrs met their death. That is to say, that when my uncle, Mirza Ashur Beg, with his eldest son, Mirza Ahmed Beg, and other members of the family and servants, and also Nawab Zia-ud-Dowlah (who also had with him his family and servants), all armed and belted, were proceeding further up the Chandni Chowk, a company of white soldiers were seen, in front of whom rode Sir Theophilus Metcalfe. (The city people named the latter " One-eyed Metcalfe," because he wore a monocle). He was Resident or Agent at the Court of the King of Delhi. The white soldiers immediately surrounded them, and Mirza Ahmed Beg drew his sword ; but his father stopped him, saying, " Prepare yourself for the martyrdom, and read the ' Kalima '."*

Sir Theophilus then separated the women and the children, and having tied a rope round the men and made them stand in a line, ordered his men to fire. Just then—see the wonder of Providence !—one of the English soldiers caught hold of the hand of Zia-ud-Dowlah, and drew him forward with such force, that, though he was a fat and heavy man, he fell to the ground. There he lay, and there the line of men roped together were in the agony of death, like slaughtered fowls.—" We are from God, and to God we return." Nawab Zia-ud-Dowlah went with the women and children to Sunipat, and from there he came to Shiddipura.

We remained at this place for a few days. At the gate of the city there was a guard of European soldiers, and no one was allowed in or out without a ticket. While we were there, Cousin Ali Mirza Beg (who died recently) was under the necessity of going into the city, and I accompanied him. Going to the bungalow of the Captain for the ticket, we found him standing outside. This was the first time I had seen an Englishman. I was very fair and well-made, and the Captain placed his hand on my head and let us have the ticket.

While we were still at Shiddipura, Uncle Mirza Abbas

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* " Kalima " is the first article of the Muslim faith, which asserts there is no God but God (Kalma-i-Shahadat), and Mohammed is His Prophet.

Baig wrote a letter to my father, saying that he should, together with the family of Mirza Ashur Beg, the martyr, at once join him. He was then extra Assistant Commissioner at Sitapur, Oudh, and for his loyalty to the Sirkar, Lord Canning had bestowed on him the Jaghir of Badaygaon. Thus, apart from the Jaghir, he was in receipt of Rs. 600/- as salary, which in those days few Indians received. Besides the letter, my uncle sent a big sum and a passport.

Uncle Mirza Dhoola, after consulting my father, married Abadi Begum to his third son, Ali Mirza Beg, and all of us then left for Sitapur.

During our stay at Shiddipura, nothing occurred worth relating, unless it be that on every Friday, in the afternoon, at the garden of Siddi Gauhar, Abdulla Khan, the story-teller, used to relate the story of " Amir Humza,' and although the Delhi people were in such a sad plight—they had lost all they possessed and were homeless—they used to subscribe and hear these stories.

By stages we reached Sitapur in about 15 or 20 days, and there, by the Grace of God, we were able to secure peace and happiness under the ægis of our uncle, Mirza Abbas Baig, and were henceforth free from all troubles.

Mr. Thompson, the Commissioner, employed my father to forcibly disarm the population of the district and to collect all weapons, such as guns, revolvers and swords.*

My uncle, having no male issue, suggested to my father, when speaking to him one day, that he should hand over his next son to him, (my uncle), and in such a way that the child would have no further connection with his own parents. My father replied that he was not so disobedient as to offer any objection to what he, my uncle, suggested; and accordingly when, at length, the late Fiaz Beg was born, my uncle adopted him as his son. Whereupon Ghulam Husain Khadir Bilgrami, the poet, wrote an epigram which was in itself quite an exceptional one. It was as follows:

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* Up to the time of the Mutiny, every village throughout the country was full of arms, and almost every man was armed, and consequently in those tracts where the Mutiny of the Native Army was accompanied by popular insurrection, the flame of rebellion burnt fiercely, and was subdued with difficulty. The painful experience of 1857 and 1858 proved the necessity of general disarmament, and nearly the whole of British India has been disarmed under the provision of a series of Acts. Licences to have and carry ordinary arms and ammunition, are granted by the Magistrates of districts, but Licences to possess artillery are granted only by the Governor-General in Council. The improved organization of the Police and of the Executive power generally renders possible the strict enforcement of the law ; but, with rare exceptions, arms are now carried only for display, and the knowledge of the use of weapons has died out in most classes of the population. The village forts have been everywhere dismantled.

> " The flower called Abbas had taken to bloom
> on a wondrous stem."*

My father was now attacked by melancholia, and during the height of the disease he almost grew mad, being quite beside himself. Why he fell a victim to this disease is strange to relate. My late grandfather, Mirza Akbar Beg, had travelled far and wide, and besides knowing Astronomy, Mathematics, Astrology and " Rummel," was a reputed scholar in Arabic and Persian. He had just recently, after performing the Haj, gone via Egypt to Italy, and there had qualified himself in Applied Mathematics; and from there, having seen the Far West, he had returned to Hyderabad Deccan, where he became the guest of Maharajah Chandoo Lal. In those days Mirza Yusuf, the elder brother of Asadullah Khan Ghalib, was employed in a responsible position in the powerful army of the Asafia Dominions. But one of his enemies, through the agency either of magic or of drugs, made him turn completely insane, and he remained in that state till he died. However, my grandfather, Mirza Akbar Beg, having taken leave of the Maharajah, returned to Delhi and built a clock-tower in his house, which was called " Shesh Mahal." This was the first tower of its kind throughout India.

After some time he went on a journey again, and came to Lucknow,† and this time he took my father with him. In these days high and low were addicted to opium in Lucknow, and my father also fell a victim to this drug. When he came back to Delhi his friends began to tease him; and what was worse, my aunt, when she began to search for a bride for him found that no one would agree to give his daughter in marriage. This gave my father such a lesson, that he swore he would not touch opium again from that day, and as a consequence, he fell seriously ill.

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* Abbas (Gulabbas) is a flower that is much grown in gardens for its beauty.

† Lucknow occupies the site of a Hindu City of great antiquity. It has now a magnificent Railway Station, and bids fair to become the sole capital of the United Provinces.

At that time Hakim Mahmood Khan was coming into fame, and between him and my father, great sympathy and love existed; and now the Hakim Sahib treated my father with such attention, that he made the dead man live again.

After some time my uncle recalled us. This time we lived for 15 months at Hardoi, and then went back to Delhi. In this wise we travelled about. And at this time travelling was dangerous as, the districts of Oudh, and especially Sitapur and Hardoi, were infested with a tribe called "Passee," who used to rob the travellers. My father went about in the palki, while we travelled in bullock conveyances, which were called "Baillee," and as we possessed passports, the Tahsildar and the Thanadar kept a watch over us, and employed the "Passees" to show us the road.

Once, while we were in the Hardoi jungle, the "Passee" intentionally led us astray, in order that we might be attacked by others hidden in the jungle; but our servants suddenly arrested the man and gagged him, and, tying his hands and feet, placed him in the cart. Retracing our steps, we returned to the road.

My Education.—Before the Mutiny I had read just a few extracts of the first portion of the Koran which is called Umayetasaaloon, while during the Mutiny and our sojourn at Alwar, my life was spent in play. When we reached Sitapur, however, I began the ABC, as it were, over again and during my stay at Delhi I continued reading lessons in "Karima," "Mokeema," and "Amadnamah," from elder Khojum Saheb, or played about with Syed Ahmed and Syed Mahmood,* who were sons of my maternal uncle, Syed Ahmed Khan* ; and then the continual journeys to and fro made me forget what I had learnt.

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* (1) Mr. Justice Mahmood, Puisne Judge of the Allahabad High Court. (2) Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, the founder of the M.A.O. College, Aligarh.

When we settled down permanently at Sitapur, I was sent to school. My three cousins, Mirza Mahmud Beg, Khudadad Beg, and Rafiuddin Beg, had reached higher classes, because, after the Mutiny they had remained at Sitapur, and I was far behind them ; and because, in addition, I was fond of play and sport, and had no desire for learning. When I joined school I knew hardly anything.

The Headmaster of this school was one Baba Ramchander, a learned man ; and there, apart from Urdu and English, I attended Hindi and Nagari classes, in accordance with my father's wish. I read Nagari up to " Prem Sagar," with Pandit Amarnath.

My memory and intelligence were very good, but I had a great desire towards play, and was much taken up with playing marbles and other games, like " kabadi," " Samand lal ghodi," " cowdee zakan," " gaind balla," etc. These are played in the maidan. Boys' games, like " chaddhee chahravval," " chappal guptah," " gilee dandoo," " khat khatavval," " ankh michauli," and " bodeeal annay tharee such paice," were also shared by girls of the same age ; while also in such indoor games as " chaddar-chupavval," and " jamal shahee chukiah to marunga," the girls of our age took part. There were other games especially for girls, such as " kooiya isee sakee koi vaisee sakee chudia ka pantha chudaothaogee," and " kadeem sunneh mama huva yanay goodia." In games requiring activity and strength of body and limb, I surpassed other boys because of my well-made body, and in " dund " and Indian clubs, wrestling and swimming, I was as good as the others.

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* " Kabadi "—A game which much resembles " leap-frog."

" Sarnanlalgudi "—A game in which one climbs on the back of another as if he were riding a horse. The pair then try to catch another pair.

" Gainbala "—A game in which the ball is hit with a mallet. It is much like " croquet."

" Chuddichadaval "—A game in which the competitors try to climb on the back of one who is trying to avoid being caught.

" Gillie Dandu "—A game that is very much played. A piece of wood about 4 inches in length is struck forcibly while on the ground and then, as soon as it bounds upward, it is struck with a mallet about a yard long. The one who sends the piece of wood farthest wins the game.

" Ankmachowli "—" Blind-man's-buff."

" Dund "—An exercise for strengthening the limbs. It is practised by stretching oneself on the ground with the palms of the hand pressed on the ground, and then, balanced on the palms of the hands and on the toes, swinging backwards and forwards.

My father noticing my disinclination to study, conceived the novel idea of shutting me up, during holidays, in a room in which were books in Urdu (prose and poetry). I had therefore to read them " nolens volens " ; and in this way I acquired the habit of reading books which stood me in good stead in later life.

But even after joining school my disinclination to study continued. Arithmetic especially was a subject which I could not at all pick up ; while at home, I could not touch the prescribed books. However, being intelligent I did not lag behind in class ; and in the presence of my father I carried the day in reciting poetry, because I had committed to memory a lot of Urdu poems, and he used to explain to me the meaning of the couplets. I thus acquired a great liking for poetry.

At this time my father fell ill, with a disease which eventually carried him off, and we went to Lucknow, from Sitapur, for him to have proper treatment.

A couple of years before this, my cousins, Mahmood Beg, Khudadad Beg, and Rafiuddin Beg, had preceded us to Lucknow, with their mother, and had joined the higher classes of Canning College. When I arrived at Lucknow I had a smattering of Urdu, and my mother had taught me to read the Koran ; but that was all the knowledge I possessed, and my cousins far surpassed me in English and Persian. They, however, carried our father to Delhi, and I remained with my uncle.

At this time, when the Canning College was founded, General L. Barrow was the Chief Commissioner of Oudh. He had won over Mirza Abbas Beg and Babu Dukhna Ranjan to his opinion, and succeeded in founding an educational institution for the children of the nobility and Talukdars of Oudh, which he called the Ward Institution. This was a branch of the Canning College, and my name was registered in this institution. Only the orphan children of the Talukdars of Oudh, whose States were under the direction of the Officials, were admitted. Among these were Rao Milhapur, Raja Banga, Raja Meva, Raja Bahdha, Raja Amir Hussain of Mahmud-abad, Mahant Har Charan Dass, Inder Bakram Shah Raja Kurrygudh, Ch. Iratiaz-uz-zaman, Mustafa Hussain Sheik Yusuf Zaman, Ch. Wajid Hussain, Ch. Ahsan Rasool, and Devander Singh. These and a few others, together with the writer, and Mahmud Beg, Khudadad Beg, and Rafiuddin Beg, constituted the alumni of the institution.

Babu Nandlal Rai was made the Governor, and Babu Dukhna Rajan and my uncle, Mirza Abbas Beg, were nominated visitors—that is, they had the supervision under them.

Besides two Moulvis, Rafat Ali and Izzat Ali, to teach Persian, there were Mr. Burgess Bray for rifle drill, Mr. D. L. Johnson, senior, and Mr. Johnson, junior, for cricket and other similar games, and one wrestler for teaching Indian clubs and dhunds.

Every student had a spacious room and there were outhouses for kitchen and servants. We lived there as boarders, but in the holidays all the students used to go away to their States. We four—my three cousins and myself—since we were in Lucknow, went home once a week. We also dined with our uncle every day, returning immediately after the meal. The midday meal was sent to us from the house.

The rules of this institution were somewhat strange. Early in the morning all the students, having dressed themselves, had to assemble in the Central Hall. They were then sent out on foot with the chaprasis, for an airing, and then, returning before sunrise, they practised Indian physical exercises. After this they assembled in the Hall, where first, they were given lessons by the two Moulvis, in Persian, and then the Governor heard lessons in connection with the College. After that, at nine o'clock, they were permitted to retire for breakfast. At 10 o'clock the conveyances were brought out, and seating ourselves in these we were driven, with chaprasis as guards, to Canning College. This College, which was near Aminabad, was situated in the Kothi known as the Dumb Nawab's Kothi. Its principal was Mr. Boycott, and Mr. White was employed to teach English literature. Besides these, there were two or three other English masters to teach History, Mathematics, etc. At some distance at the back of this wide, four-storied building, there was a spacious house, which was called the Imam Badha, and here the Persian and Arabic Branch of the College was situated. Moulvi Fazlullah and Munshi Zahiruddin were both considered very learned men in these subjects, and I read in both with these two professors (on whom be peace !)

Here I am reminded of an episode. A gentleman who claimed to be a poet, came to Lucknow from Calcutta, and having heard that I was a grandson of Najm-ud-dowla, Dabir-ul-Mulk Mirza Asadullah Khan Ghalib (better known as Mirza Nowsha), came, with great enthusiasm, to see me, and after telling me that he was a pupil of Ghalib, he read to me a poem composed by himself, and of which he was very proud. The first couplet of the poem is this :

> " When I lifted my eyes wet with tears, and saw on top of the sky and under the earth, an ocean flowed from my eyes on top of the sky and under the earth."

For the words " lifted " and " saw," he had tried to travel as far as the skies. However, I took him to Munshi Zahiruddin, and he read out to him the same couplet, and declared that he had learnt to make poetry from Ghalib. Suddenly the Munshi got into a rage and said, " O stupid fellow, you are dragging the name of Ghalib in the mire ! " And the poor fellow who called himself a poet, fled in shame.

Raja Amir Hassain Khan whose estate had been released from the supervision of the Sirkar, was also very fond of poetry, and one of his companions composed the following very well-conceived couplet :

> " Although I tried to remove myself from the presence of the beloved, I rose like the ocean of grief and fell back like a tear."

One day as Ghulam Hussain Khader, the poet, and I were standing on the banks of the river Gumti, his poetical instinct was suddenly roused, and he composed the following :

> " Even the painter has become my enemy, for when he paints my picture, he delineates the picture of a dagger on my throat and the point of a spear on my heart."

One day Mr. White declared in the classroom that the Urdu language was a bastard, and was born of Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit. I, who even during my childhood was never backward in allowing my tongue to wag before my elders, replied at once, that the English language could not claim to be born of legitimate parents. Mr. White could not help laughing, but said that the English language was very extensive, inasmuch as it could give expression to every subject either in prose or poetry. For instance, it would not be possible to compose a blank verse drama in Urdu. I said that, " instead of the drama, we have the pranks of the Kashmiri clowns and buffoons ; and while our poets have not condescended to compose blank verse drama, they are, none the less, not a bit behind English poets, in so far as flight of imagination and beauty of conception are concerned. With your permission, I would cite a few instances."

Mr. White said he would like to hear them.

Then I gave an instance from Shakespeare, where he makes Romeo express the wish that he were a glove upon Juliet's hand, in order that he might touch her cheek.* This is very beautifully expressed, but see what Zowk says :

> " Even if my future were dark, I should like to be either the black locks of your hair or the mole on your cheek."

After this I said, " Listen, Young, one of your poets, has expressed in several verses some beautiful and effective thoughts which Ghalib has expressed in a couple of lines, viz., " Although the beauty of the moon at its fullness is good, my beloved, with a face like the brightness of the sun, outshines it."

Mr. White, when he heard the translation was very glad, but he was still stubborn with regard to the drama.

In these days, Syed Hassain Bilgrami, on Rs. 150 a month, and Babu Keshub Chander and Babu Kumar Mukerji, were appointed teachers for the lower classes.

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* " O, that I were a glove upon that hand,
That I might touch that cheek ! "

My uncle Mirza Abbas Baig had much regard for Mr. Syed Hussain, because in those days it was very exceptional for Mussulmans to secure the B.A. degree, and he specially liked him for the reason that his father and uncle, before the Mutiny took place, were appointed to teach English to Nawab Ziauddin Khan, Nawab Amin-ud-din Khan, and Nawab Shamshuddin Khan, the sons of Ahmed Baksh Khan, the Chief of the State of Loharu and Ferozepur Jarka. Later on they secured high appointments in the service of the British Government. However, when I spoke to Mr. Syed Hussain about this conversation with regard to the composition of a drama, I found that he agreed with Mr. White.

In those days I was in the Entrance class, but because of my father's methods I had acquired a taste for prose and poetry. I therefore made up my mind to write a drama. Mirza Mahmood Beg, having passed the Entrance examination, was posted as Tahsildar at Mohan, and I paid him a visit during the holidays, and as he was on tour, I found leisure to write the drama.

Before the Mutiny, musical comedy was the fashion in Delhi. For instance, the story of Soonder was famous in those days. The following couplet was sung with zest :

> " Seven maidens assembled because Soonder went
> in search of water, because a Mughal lad was
> seen in front Soonder began to hide."

I put the scene in the days of Akbar, and began to write the drama in blank verse.

When Mahmood Beg returned from his tour, I told him about Mr. White's and Syed Hussain's stubbornness and remarks in regard to this matter ; but he also was of the same opinion. I then read to him the poem that I had written. He was astonished, and said, " Brother, now I can also compose poetry on similar lines."

I then read out my drama to Mr. Syed Hassain and Mr. White, and they were reconciled to my point of view.

When I went to Hyderabad, a monthly magazine was being published there, and I began to write a story, on the lines of an English novel, for this paper. The late Nawab Mukhtarul Mulk, who was then Prime Minister and Regent of the State, wanted to publish it, but, as luck would have it, a man called Kaniya Lal, who knew English, and who used to visit me, stole it. I still remember a few lines, from which my readers will be able to draw some inferences :

> " Jankee—Yesterday we went to draw water. In the garden we met a Turk. He came forward and we drew back. When Soondar removed her veil—the Turk held his hand on his heart. She began to cry and we returned home. Something he said, but we remained silent."

I do not know how I managed to secure a " First Class " in the Entrance examination, because neither at School nor at College could I put my heart to the prescribed course. Also I was never up to the mark in the classes, and always failed to secure distinction, while I was specially weak in Mathematics.

Khudadad Beg, after getting through the Entrance examination, had gone to England, at the expense of the Estate, with Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and his son Syed Mahmood.

Rafiuddin Beg had passed the First Arts Examination, and begun to study for the B.A.

My late uncle used to say that, after him, Khudadad Beg would keep up the family name. Indeed, with regard to myself, he thought that my time was being wasted, and that I should therefore be employed in some subordinate capacity.

As for myself, leaving the prescribed books aside, I employed myself in reading English prose and poetry, novels and history, etc., with great interest. I had gone through the small library that my uncle possessed, and also read through all the novels and story-books that the institution provided. I had also studied Sale's translation of the Koran, Mandress's History of the Arab Nations—" History of Arabia "—and books written by Imam Bukari : and when I began to take interest in Philosophy I used to borrow the works of Locke, Hume, and others, from the College library.

I was very much taken up with novels, and had read

Sir Walter Scott's works, both prose and poetry. Having gone through Reynold's " Mysteries of the Court of London," I read them over to Mr. Syed Hussain Bilgrami, Buduh Meah, and others, as if I were a story-teller of yore. I had also gained a great deal of knowledge in Urdu and Persian by reading through the translations of " Boistan a Kial " by my uncle, Khaja Aman ; but nevertheless I had no liking for the text-books prescribed for the college examinations—that was the reason why I failed in the First Arts Examination. I had, all the same, acquired a taste for reading and for enhancing my general knowledge.

Perhaps Mr. White and Mr. Syed Hussain had recognized this, for they held me in much esteem. With the exception of these two gentlemen, however, nobody else had much regard for me. I was by temper stubborn and very excitable, and I was so fearless that I was not impressed by anybody. In this last connection I remember an instance which I should like to relate.

Mahant Har Charan Dass annually celebrated the Ram Lila.* A very large crowd used to assemble, to control which special police were posted. In those days a Parsee, an enormously tall and fat man, by the name of Nowsherwanji, was the Kotwal of Lucknow City. Captain Noble was the Magistrate, and General Barrow the Chief Commissioner.

In accordance with past custom, we all, on this particular occasion visited the Mela with our governor the Babu, but while the other boys, after alighting from the carriages, were making their way through the crowds and entering the enclosure, I lagged behind, with the result that it was only with difficulty that I finally made my way up to the enclosure. Nowsherwanji was busy in keeping back the crowd, and, not recognizing me, pushed me back and, spreading out both his hands, stopped the way of ingress. I, however, made a jump and entered the enclosure, but Nowsherwanji succeeded in catching hold of my shoulder, and then tried to throw me aside. At this audacity I hit him on his face with such force that perhaps a drop or two of blood trickled from his nose. At this a hue and cry was raised, but before he could arrest me, I went forward in a nonchalant manner. Babu, the governor, and also the Mahant, were able to pacify the Kotwal, but when we returned from the Mela to Kaiser Bagh, information reached us that a complaint under certain sections of the Indian Penal Code had been filed by the Kotwal before the Magistrate, and that the Magistrate had issued a warrant for my arrest.

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* The Ram Lila is a performance corresponding to the mediæval European miracle play, and is celebrated in North India in the month of " Kuar " (or Asvin) (September-October) at the time when the Durga Puja is solemnised in Bengal. Rana and his brother Lachman are impersonated by boys, who are selected, and enthroned in state. The performance concludes by the burning of a wicker image of Ravanna, the demon king of Lunka (Ceylon), who carried off Rama's Queen Sita. The story is the leading subject of the great epic called the Ramayana.

Babu, the governor, in fright, informed my uncle, who immediately went to General Barrow and informed him of all that had happened, with the result that, although General Barrow and Captain Noble showed great displeasure, they allowed matters to fall through. A day or two later, General Barrow visited our institution, and punished me by ordering that I should not be allowed to take part in sports or to go home for two weeks.

Similarly I fell out with a Padre, whose church was close to the playground. On a certain Sunday, when he was busy preaching in the church, I and some others were playing about. A quarrel with him ensued from this, and as a result, the church was removed from the house in question, and the house itself became part of the institution.

Another chapter in my life begins from here. But before I proceed with that, it will not be out of place for me to mention some facts relating to my family, which occurred before and after the Mutiny, and which are now almost forgotten.

BEFORE THE MUTINY.—My uncle, Mirza Ashur Beg Shahid (the martyr), was a very handsome man. With a fair and blonde complexion, his eyes were blue, while his beard and the hair of his head were brown turning to golden. And he was tall and well made. As I have said, he, like my father, was a famous scholar in Arabic, Persian, Astronomy, and Astrology ; but he had a violent temper, and the various members of the family, with the exception of Mirza Nowshe, were afraid of him. Further, with his great erudition, he had also become rather eccentric. When he took a liking to a thing, he became absolutely absorbed in it, and used to see it through to the end. If he became enamoured of medicines, then he manufactured them in different varieties—e.g., Jawarish, Mahajun, and Hubub (pills)—to such an extent that phials and bottles and pots, full of these, were to be seen arranged in rows on his shelves. He made all these with his own hands. And if he took to alchemy, then the chemists assembled in numbers, night and day, in his drawing-room, where they were entertained to the full with such tasty dishes as Korma, Pahlow, Kabob, Hulvay, Moorubay, Jam, etc., while every kind of extracts and kushtahs were prepared.

One day my uncle came into the zenana, very happy and glad, and showing my aunt and mother a piece of silver, he said that he had prepared it himself. With this silver a chain was made and placed around my neck; and it remained on my neck till I grew up, but then, somehow, it was lost in Lucknow.

Similarly, when he took a fancy to glass-making, he made all kinds of glass vessels; and when he became a "Murid" of Shah Rafiuddin, he remained up for nights together, praising God the while. No wonder that at the end he secured the blessings of martyrdom! There could be no doubt of his salvation.

My elder cousin, his son, Mirza Ahmed Beg, was in every way a chip of the old block.

Nawab Zia-ud-dowlah was a son of Hakim Ruku-ud-dowlah. He was of middle height, corpulent, and with a brown complexion, had black beard and hair. He had a big family, was of a pleasant temper and very polite. He possessed valuable properties, and, indeed, was so rich, that our people in Delhi said that he had chained up the Goddess of Wealth. But during the Mutiny his house was looted. The Indian Sepoys and the British soldiers did not leave even a straw behind, and as he was suspected of having had a share in the rebellion, his estate and properties were escheated, and he was brought to the verge of starvation. At last, with the help of my uncle, Mirza Abbas Beg, he came to live in Lucknow with my elder aunt, and stayed there for several years.

The story of his life serves as an example and should be related. When he did not succeed in his object at Lucknow, he returned to Delhi. In those days Shah Abdul Aziz, known as Chotay Hafiz Jee and Hakim Jee, was alive. He was a source of enlightenment and help to the whole city, and those in physical distress or in spiritual anxiety sought his help and benefited. One day Nawab Zia-ud-dowlah, having come to the end of his resources, went to the Shah Sahib and said, " Now I have come to such an extremity that I want to find shelter in your Musjid, and then commit suicide." The Shah Sahib evinced great anxiety at this and asked him to come over the next day. The Nawab presented himself, as ordered, and giving vent to his feelings, spoke of taking poison. The Shah Sahib advised him to go to Lahore. The Nawab when he heard this, felt helpless.—" You are trying to befool me," he said. " I am on the verge of starvation, so how could I go so far ? and how could I maintain myself there, since I know nobody ? " He therefore decided to stay at the Musjid.

The Shah Sahib remained silent for a time, and then, after contemplation, said that he should go to Lahore—God would smooth his difficulties.

The Nawab returned home in a helpless and despondent state.

Now see for yourself how the Merciful God helped him. An old Sowcar, who used to visit the Nawab occasionally, happened to come to him that day, and when he found the Nawab in distress, he told him that his estates had been wrongfully confiscated, and asked him why he did not try to get them released.

The Nawab replied rather curtly that he was without sustenance, so how could he try to get back his property ?

The Sowcar then said that he had eaten his, the Nawab's salt, and through him had become a banker, and therefore, if the Nawab was willing to fight out the case, he would provide the necessary funds to meet the cost of it. Consequently, provision having been made to his satisfaction, the Nawab Sahib, with his son Bashiruddin Ahmed Khan, reached Lahore. It was about noon that they entered the city, and they decided first to proceed direct to the offices, in order to gain information about the pleaders, etc., and then to make arrangements for their accommodation.

After making enquiries, they arrived at the Chief

Court just when it was being closed for the day, and the Judicial Commissioner was getting into his conveyance. The Nawab had got out of his carriage, with the intention of making enquiries, and he now approached the conveyance of the Judicial Commissioner, and greeted him very politely. He happened to draw the attention of the Commissioner to himself, first, because, being a nobleman, he had a prepossessing and gentlemanly appearance, and, secondly, because he was stout and attractive.

The Commissioner then addressed him and wanted to know whether he had anything to say, and he replied that he had. At that the Judicial Commissioner stepped out of his carriage, and having re-entered his chambers, sent for the Nawab. The latter then related his story, after which the Judicial Commissioner said, " Well, take your case to some pleader."

The Nawab, with tears in his eyes, declared that he was a stranger, and did not know anybody in the place.

The Commissioner then sent for a chaprasi, and asked him whether Mr. Rattigan was there, and, if so, to ask him to come to him.

Mr. Rattigan came in immediately, and the Judicial Commissioner said something to him in English, and then went away.

The barrister caught hold of the hand of the Nawab, and, having brought him outside, said that the Commissioner had recommended him. He then took the Nawab into his chambers, and when he had heard all the facts of the case, he said he would fight it out. With regard to his fees, he said that, if he won his case, the Nawab could let him have them.

The case was decided in the Nawab's favour, and his estate and property being returned to him, he again became a very wealthy man in Delhi.

He and Ahmedjee are dead and gone, but the story remains.

In those days, before the Mutiny, Delhi was in a very prosperous state. The sovereignty of the King was merely nominal, and it used to be proclaimed by beat of drum, " People are from God, the Country is the King's, and the Government belongs to the Sarkar Company Bahadur." But the mere fact that the King lived, was enough, and the etiquette of the days of Akbar the Great was still in vogue. Bahadur Shah was in receipt of a lakh of rupees pension from the Company, and the princes and other royal personages were also in receipt of salaries according to their rank. The expenses for the maintenance of the retainers, staff and servants of the royal household were fixed, and their pay distributed. Hakim Ahsanullah Khan was the Minister after Khalilullah Khan, and his pupil Sadr-ud-din Khan was the City Mufti. Out of this lakh of rupees which the Company paid monthly, the city people also came in for pensions and salaries. There was one thing to be said in respect of this money, and that was that, although it was not such a big amount, it meant that the Delhi people had no occasion to go outside their city in search of a livelihood. As Zowk the poet has pertinently said: " Although in these days the art of poesy is greatly encouraged in the Dakhan, why should one leave the streets of Delhi and go there."

From the artizans to the poets, learned men and Mashayaks, people from distant countries assembled here, whose prototypes were difficult to be found elsewhere. For instance, among the Mashayaks were Rafiuddin and Shah Abdul Qader (on whom be peace!); among the dervishes, Fida Hussain and Rasool Shah, Shah Abdul Aziz, Chotay Hafizjee better known as Ahkundjee (God bless their souls!); among the learned, Mufti Sadr-ud-din Khan Moulvi Sahbai, and Fazlay Huk of Khairabad; among poets, Shaik Ebrahim Zowk, Hakim* Momin Khan (Momin) Najamud-dowlah Dabir-ul-Mulk and Mirza Asad ullah Khan Ghalib alias Mirza Nowsha. Among the painters, those who lived in the Kucha Natwan were famous. Then there was the signet-maker, Badruddin Khan, and the scent-and-oil seller, Ghalib Ghundi, of Dariba fame. Among the "chefs," there was Chotay Mirza, and in the tailoring profession Shujast Beg; and among the embroiderers, Mirza Ali Beg; while Thalay Yar Khan and Risaldar Samand Khan were famous in the profession of arms. In brief, in those days men of every profession, art and industry, famous in their various callings and avocations, could be found here.

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* *Hakim.*—The Moslem practitioners in medicine are generally called " Hakim," in contradistinction to Hindu practitioners, who are called Vaid (Sanskrit Vaidya) followers of the Veda, that is to say, the Ayurvedia. The Egyptian School (Misrani, Misri or Suryani, that is, Syrian) never practise bleeding, and are partial to the use of metallic oxides. The Yunani physicians approve of bleeding and prefer vegetable drugs.

The older writers on India fancy that the Hindu system of medicine was of enormous antiquity and that the principles of Clinical medical science were ultimately derived from India, but modern investigation has proved that Hindu medicine, like Hindu astronomy, is largely of Greek origin.

Bazaars looked so bright and lively that the city appeared as a bride. In the afternoon crowds of every description were ordinarily seen in the Chandni Chowk, and in every direction could be heard the metallic ring of the cups.

As for the character of the city people, I suppose it was not considered bad for those days. Prostitutes were held in great estimation; and, with the exception of the "Mashayaks," there were very few of the nobility and the well-to-do who were not fond of the companionship of these public women. But the conduct of those who lived in the fort itself was very bad. With the exception of the King, the rest of the Princes and the Princesses could make no distinction between the legitimate and illegitimate; and most of these were perfectly ignorant. But the Urdu as spoken in the Fort was authoritative.

The "Eed" Festivals were celebrated with great éclat. The King went on the elephant, called the Maula Baksh, to the "Eedgah" for the prayer. This elephant was always "must." They say it was presented by Nasir-ud-dowlah, the Ruler of the Dakhan, as a present. The children used to play with it. It is also said that, when the English carried away the King from Delhi, Maula Baksh refused his food and finally died of starvation.

In fine, Delhi was so prosperous, that the well-to-do and the learned and those of other professions passed their lives without anxiety or worry.

At this period a wonderful set of people was found there. It was known by the name of "Aka." These people were born of Mughals, and were scions of old noble families. They could neither read nor write, through laziness, and were not fit for either profession or service; but being "blue bloods," they had access to the gatherings and entertainments of Society. They lived on the generosity of well-to-do people. Good-looking, and with good figures, they were chivalrous, and straight in their dealings, but they were hot-tempered and easily excitable. These were their qualities.

I regret to say that this set is now extinct. There remained recently only one out of this set, who was taken care of by my cousin, Md. Ekramullah Khan, because of his very old age.

An " Aka " lived with my uncle, Mirza Khaja Jan, and in connection with him, I am reminded of a story. One day this " Aka " was sitting outside his room, smoking his pipe. His son was with him, and both of them were drunk with " bhang "*. (We were all sitting on the platform in front.) Suddenly the " Aka " said to his son, " My beloved, I wish to speak Arabic to-day." The son nodding his acquiescence, the " Aka " spoke the following words : " Ana kumu kahee " ; to which the son blurted out in reply, " Beevee luchu ka hai." At this the " Aka " was very angry, and, reprimanding his son on his ignorance, said, " ' Ana ' and ' kana ' are two Arabic words, whereas in ' Beevee luchu ka hai ' there is not a single Arabic word ! "

This Aka's pet word was " whereas," and although he had only a smattering of Persian, he was very fond of speaking the language. He was requested one day in the month of Ramzan to fast. The next morning he was seen pulverising " bhang " in front of his room, and smoking his pipe as usual, while from his room came the sound of " koon ! . . . koon ! " People asked him if he was fasting that day, and also wanted to know the reason why he was pounding " bhang."

" Brother," he said, " whereas I made up my resolution to fast during the night, but whereas this dog had eaten my early morning meal, whereas I have placed him on the roof having tied his legs and hung him up, because he had whereas eaten my meal, so that whereas the dog is fasting instead of the master."

In short, in the fort there was high-living and pleasure-seeking, and in the city the learned and the " Mashayaks " spent their time in telling beads and in holy disquisitions.

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* Bhang (bang)h—(Per-bang ; c.f. ska. bhanga, hemp). An astringent and narcotic drug made from dried leaves and seed capsules of wild hemp (Cannabis Indica), chewed or smoked in the East as a means of intoxication. (See Hasheesh).

As for the artisans and other professionals, they were so much absorbed in their own crafts, that the whole city wore an air of oblivion and neglect; and so much so, that those in it hardly knew what was taking place beyond the city walls.

Occasionally there was a Durbar, at which the Resident, dressed in flowing robes ("Jamah Neemah"), wearing a helmet with a white band of cloth (known as a "puggaree"),* and with a "jareeb" in his hand, used to be present. Having presented himself, he would, from his proper place, make seven salaams in Indian fashion, together with fourteen bows (which is called "kornish"). The Princes and the nobles also used to be present, and the King sat on the throne; and those present stood with hands folded. If the Resident had to say anything, he used to say it, otherwise, after a few words about the climate and other ordinary topics of shikar, etc., the Durbar came to an end.

People thought that the Mughal Rule in India still existed, although the British Commander of the Fort was posted at the Gate. The Fort, in other words, was a prison, and the Commander was the jailer.

One day Nawab Ebrahim Ali Khan, a member of the Loharu family, was present in the Durbar, when the Resident stepped forward and said that it was strange that, although the Nawab was fat and flabby, yet there were rumours of his great strength.—"If a command were issued then the old Persian maxim would come true, viz., 'seeing is believing.'"

The King looked towards the Nawab, and said, "Amaa, what does the Baday Sahib say?"

The Nawab replied with folded arms, "Your slave is at your command."

The result was that the Nawab asked the Resident to sit on a teapoy, which was made of black stone, and then, taking hold of the teapoy, with the Resident seated on it, by the leg, he lifted it a foot high above the ground. But at the same time he vomited blood, and had barely reached home before he expired.

Likewise at the request of the Resident, Samand Khan, the Risaldar, killed a tiger on foot, striking him first with the sword and then with the dagger.

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* The Europeans still tie this cloth round the topee as a sign of distinction, and call it a "puggaree."

Such was the way in which the Delhi people passed their days. But it is a truth that, after Alamghir, the City of Delhi was never so full of men learned in knowledge and crafts, as at this time, even though the times were disconsolate. But as the lamp before it goes out, flickers, so was the case with Delhi. Countless elegies on the destruction of Delhi have been written, but Sadr-ud-din Khan, the Mufti, wrote the saddest of all elegies. I happen to remember one couplet of his regarding the ladies and princesses, who were utterly ruined, namely :

" God had not provided them with even a pillow to
rest their heads on :
If they lifted a stone from their sides it was only
to place it under their heads."

And Mirza Ghalib also said : " It was well that the name and sign of Delhi was obliterated, for why should anyone care to write an elegy on it ! "

The King himself wrote a poem about the destruction of Delhi, which used to be widely sung in those days. I only remember a line, viz., " Whosoever the Ruler for the time being saw, considered him fit for the gallows."

DURING THE MUTINY.—The facts relating to the Mutiny are indescribable. When the mutineers from Meerut entered the City, having murdered the Commander of the Fort and other Englishmen, and took possession of it. they became more tyrannous than even Pharaoh ; and so much so, that they even addressed the King as " old fossil."

The nobility and the well-to-do people remained indoors.

The officers of the troops were not so discourteous ; but they also said that these Purbhiyas were not under their control. The troops, however, selected young and prepossessing princes, such as Mirza Abu Bakar and Mirza Mughal, as their officers—perhaps with the idea of gaining general sympathy for their cause ; while these poor fellows, for their part, consented to be the officers of these savages, in order to save themselves from their impertinence. But they never went to fight on the ridge even once.

My father—a tall and very fair man, with rosy cheeks, brown hair, and blue eyes—happening to go out of the house on some necessary business, was at once seized by the " Purbhiyas," and taken to the fort.

My father's relatives, belted and armed, and dressed in the proper fashion, at once went to the King, and complained to him. But the King replied that nobody listened to him, and referred them to the officers of the troops; and the latter said that the troops had come to believe that he was an Englishman, and that we had hidden him in the house. The matter went up even to Mirza Abu Bakar and other princes. Finally my father was released on payment of Rs. 500.

The English were on the Ridge, and the uncontrollable troopers were in the city; and the fighting went on for six months.

In these days Mirza Dilafza, better known as Mirza Elahee Baksh, was cleverer and more far-sighted than the other princes, and, foreseeing the result of this futile struggle, he began to enter into communication with the English. And he won Hakim Ahsanullah Khan to his opinion. On the other hand, some loyal people had advised the King to leave the City, for, surmising that the Rajas and the Governors had now become the rulers of the country, they thought that these would support His Majesty.—Indeed, perhaps correspondence to this effect had been received. But when the King had resolved to leave the city with the Princes, Mirza Elahee Baksh, on a hint from the English, went to the King, taking Hakim Sahib with him, and placing his head on the feet of the King, said, with a show of tears:

" For God's sake, give up your idea "—otherwise the English would massacre the people and their blood would be on the head of His Majesty on the day of Judgment. Hakim Sahib also supported him strongly. The King therefore gave up the idea, and remained in Humayun's tomb.* Finally, General Nicholson made an attack on

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* *Humayun.*—The tomb of Humayun was erected by the Emperor's widow Hajee Begum, or Bega Begum, and not by Akbar. She was the Senior Widow of Humayun, and had the title of Hajee or Pilgrim, because she performed the pilgrimage to Mecca. Carr Stephen and other writers confound her with Hamida Banoo Begum, the mother of Akbar. (For her true history, see Beveridge—" The History of Humayun," by Gulbadun Begum (R.A.S. 1902).)

Carr Stephen (page 203) says that the Mausoleum was completed in A.D. 1565 (or, according to some, in A.D. 1569), at a cost of 15 lakhs of rupees. The true date is A.D. 1570—late in A.H. 977. (Baduoui Tr: Lowe ii 135). It is of especial interest as being one the City Gate. He was killed, but the British entered, and a hand-to-hand fight began in the streets and lanes of the city. There was great slaughter, and the innocent people of the city were visited with calamity.

When the British had to some extent taken hold of the city, Sir Theophilus Metcalfe told Mirza Elahee Baksh that if the King left, the position would become desperate; and he asked the Mirza to go and try to find a way by which they could bring the King under their control.

Accordingly the Mirza took the Hakim along with himself again, and having sworn by the Prophet and God, and made promises, they prevented the King from leaving.

The young and beautiful Princes, who, as bad luck would have it, were forced to become officers, were now taken in conveyances, drawn by bullocks (Ruth) and were escorted towards the city. But they had hardly reached this, when a company of British soldiers surrounded them—and then happened what happened! As the poet Zowk has put it:

> " O God, what innocent person has the slayer
>   killed,
>   Believing him worthy of this blow!
> A voice arising from the resting-place,
>   Says 'lo! murderest thou an innocent man?' "

The Hakim fled hither and thither in search of employment, but the Mirza became the Head Chowush (Leader) of the whole family of Timur Ghorghani, and on his recommendation pensions were issued. My mother received a pension of Rs. 5 a month, but my father refused it.

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of the earliest specimens of the Mughal dynasty. It stands on two noble terraces, and its massive dome, supposed to be one of the biggest in the world, is a landmark for many miles round. The body of the building is of red stone, with marble decorations.

Humayun rests in the Central Hall, under an elaborately carved marble Sarcophagus. The head of Dara Shikoh, and the bodies of many members of the Royal family are interred in the side rooms. The King took refuge here after the fall of Delhi in September, 1857.

The story of the execution of the princes by Hodson on the road to Delhi is well known, and has been the occasion of much controversy.

The facts regarding the destruction of Delhi correspond completely with those that cover the destruction of Granada. As Granada was at its zenith at the time that it was destroyed, so was Delhi at the height of its prosperity. And as Abu Abdulla was turned out of Granada in a helpless condition, so was Abu Mohamed Bahadur Shah sent away to Rangoon. And thus ended the Mughal dominion in India.

But Feroze Shah left a name behind !

Mirza Abbas Baig was posted with the English troops near Farukabad, on the banks of the Ganges, where, acting on information (they received reports hourly from informers) to the effect that he would be passing that way, they awaited Ferozeshah. Suddenly, one fine morning, he made his appearance, with a small company, all mounted on horses. On reaching the banks of the river, he and his companions cut away the girths of their saddles, and coolly led the horses into the river, and, having crossed this, they then fought their way through, and, disappearing from sight, left India for good.

Ferozeshah lived nearly to the end of his days as a pensioner in Russia, and finally died in Mecca. His wife, Malika Zimani (or Khayum Zimani) visited Hyderabad (I met her there), but owing to the disturbed state of affairs in those days, nobody took any notice of her. Ferozeshah, however, was able, through his brave conduct, to keep up the prestige of his family.

AFTER THE MUTINY.—I have already stated that after the Mutiny we removed to Sitapur, and stayed with our uncle Mirza Abbas Beg. Facts connected with his life are worth relating. He was older than my father, but younger than Mirza Ashur Beg. Had a fair and ruddy complexion, was good-looking, tall, with a well-formed body, and endowed with strength. He had a pleasant temper and a fondness for friends, on whom he spent money lavishly ; and in his younger days he had an inclination towards fast living. Although he was not fond of reading and writing, he, strange to say, in those days began to learn English, and acquired sufficient proficiency in the language to be able to write and speak it. His Persian was ordinary, but he was ignorant of

Arabic. He became a pupil of Babu Ram Chunder (now a convert to Christianity), but although he was intelligent by nature, and was of a joyous temperament, he was unable to compose or even to read Persian poetry correctly.

Before the Mutiny, Bengal was the only province in which English education had been general: in the Punjab, Doab, Rajputana, Central India and other Provinces of India, but a few Hindus and fewer Moslems were met with who knew English. Marshman, Carey, and other English Padres, had opened schools, with the intention of educating the pagan Hindus, so as to withdraw them from their idolatrous religion and draw them into the folds of Christianity ; and the Government had opened schools with the object of attracting people of the country to their service, the latter being cheaper to obtain than Englishmen ; but each had its curriculum to serve its own ends, and they had written books in which the historical facts about the Hindus and the Muslims were related in such a fashion, that the students came to look down upon their ancestors. The claim they made, was that they were leading the people from ignorance to a higher civilized plane.

Before the Mutiny, in all the offices, from the Viceroy's to the Collector's, Persian was in use.

Mirza, when he had acquired sufficient knowledge to write and speak the English language, was in search of a wider field for his activities, and this chance luckily came his way in the following manner.

His uncle, Mirza Afzal Beg, who had the title of Javad-ud-dowlah conferred upon him, was sent to Calcutta, as Vakil-us-Saltanat (Plenipotentiary), to negotiate some matters with the Viceroy. As difficulties arose he sent Raja Ram Mohun Roy on his behalf to England, and he himself returned home, bringing with him a Bengali lady. But soon afterwards he died, leaving this beautiful lady a widow, and she fell in love with the Mirza.

Then, as his father disliked his way of living, Mirza eloped with this lady, and entered the service of a Raja in the Punjab. Being a well-proportioned man, of prepossessing appearance, the Raja took him on his own staff ; but this the others resented, and intriguing against him, represented to the Raja that the Mirza was in league with his mistress. Accordingly the Raja made him drink a lot of wine one night, and then ordered his mistress to go into his room. Thereupon the Mirza, although very much intoxicated, drew his dagger and attacked the woman, with the intention of cutting off her nose; but she ran out of the room. The Raja, who was watching and saw all this, was then very angry with his companions, and praised the Mirza for his honourable dealings.

The next morning, however, the Mirza went to the Raja, and asked to be relieved of his post, saying that no master could do as the Raja had done, with his servants; and although the Raja apologised for what had been done, he left his service and went away to Lahore.

Sir Henry Lawrence was then the Governor of the Punjab, and, taken with the Mirza's gentlemanliness and good looks, and honourable bearing, he appointed him the Kotwal of the city.

My late uncle used to say that Sir Henry, though erratic, was, in the discharge of the duties of his post, very particular as regards the rules and regulations, and kept an eye on the conduct of his subordinates. One day, when the Mirza was trying to bring to account a shopman in the bazaar, and his servant was holding an umbrella over him, Sir Henry passed that way in his buggy, and seeing the Mirza, with his servant thus occupied, he jumped down, and said sarcastically, "Well, Nawab Saheb, I'll hold a "chatri" over you," The Mirza took this ill, and pressed forward, but Sir Henry threw away the umbrella, and ordered him to present himself at his bungalow. Even there the Mirza was frank and courageous, and replied fearlessly, and instead of punishing him, Sir Henry gave him an increase in his salary.

On another day it happened that Sir Henry took the Mirza with him for some urgent work, and while driving along, explained to him what the urgent work was. Mirza differed from him, and being naturally frank, said so. At the time the carriage was midway across a marshy piece of land, but this, notwithstanding, Sir Henry, becoming angry, ordered the Mirza to get down from the carriage. The Mirza obeyed at once, jumping into the marsh; and this conduct on his part, instead of being resented, was appreciated by Sir Henry, to his good, and he was appointed Tahsildar of Ferozepur.

Here he did many things against the Sikhs in proof of his loyalty. For instance, he carried General Abbot, who was wounded in the fight, from the field ; and eventually Sir Henry became so fond of him, that it even aroused the jealousy of the British officers.

My late uncle used to say that he accepted gratifications, and would not refuse even so small a one as eight annas.

With the exception of my father and my aunt, no member of the family associated with him, in spite of the fact that he had amassed a lot of property and wealth, he being beyond the pale of the family circle for the reason mentioned above, and also because the family jaghirs were, owing to want of documentary proof, confiscated by the Government. Further while in the Punjab, he had changed his religious views. He gave as a reason for this, that one night he dreamt that he saw a severed head, which placed in a hanging pot, told him to love the "Ahly Baith" (Ali and his descendants, by Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet—On whom be peace !)

A Fakir—a darvesh—gave him a charm during his sojourn in the Punjab. It was called "Dhast-ghaib" (The Hidden Hand), and he used to say that through it he had secured all his worldly success. Up to the time of his death, he used to write this charm after the Zohir prayers.

During his service in the Punjab he suffered a great shock and lost all the money which he had amassed. What happened was this.

My father and my aunt went to Ferozepur to see him. While the Mirza was away at the office, and my father was sitting in the veranda, trying to solve some questions in Mathematics, when a neighbour brought over a girl, and asked to be permitted to leave her in the house because he was leaving the city for a time. He would be back in two or three days, he said, and would then take her away. My father, thinking that perhaps the man was his brother's friend, as he had come without any ceremony, agreed, and sent the maid inside the zenana ; and then, soon after the man had gone away, the police made their appearance and took away the girl. The Deputy Commissioner—who was waiting for an opportunity—then instituted a charge of buying and selling a slave, and suspended the Mirza. During the time the case lasted, my uncle said that he had not only lost all the money he had amassed, but was also on the verge of starvation ; and then, when the Deputy Commissioner issued a warrant of arrest, he hired a camel, and fled in disguise to Multan, hiding during the day and proceeding on his journey during the darkness.

He reached General Abbot's bungalow in the evening, when the latter, having finished his dinner, was sitting talking with his wife. The Mirza, jumping off his camel, rushed to the room in which he saw a light, and unceremoniously pushed against the door and entered. The Mem-sahib, poor lady, shrieked out and fainted, and the General, taking hold of his revolver, jumped forward. Then, having recognised the Mirza, General Abbot heard his story ; and afterwards, each armed with a revolver, the two left for Lahore in the Dak carriage. They covered the distance in safety, and when they reached Lahore, the General went straight to Sir Henry Lawrence, who was then in his kutcherry. The Mirza was afraid that the Police might arrest him there, but the General assured him that if they attempted to, he would shoot them. He then betook himself to Sir Henry, while the Mirza, having shut the door, remained sitting in the carriage.

After a short while the General returned, and asked the Mirza not to be afraid of the Police, and to follow him to Sir Henry, who had sent for him.

Having heard the Mirza's story from beginning to end, Sir Henry cancelled the warrant against him, and posted him with Mr. Temple in the Settlement Department.

Later on, the Mirza accompanied Sir Henry to Oudh.

During the Mutiny he was Tahsildar at Malhapur, and and when the Mutineers made an attack on the Tahsil office, he, with great bravery, managed to save the Treasury and send it on to General Outram. He then, having disguised himself, hid in the jungle, and eventually reached Bilgram,where the people of the place gave him an asylum. During his stay here he corresponded with the British officials, and informed them of the movements of the Mutineers.

From Bilgram he was sent to Farukabad, where a very strange incident took place. In the confiscated property of the Nawab of Farukabad there was a sword, the handle and sheath of which were valued at some thousands. This sword was found missing, and one of the several English officers who were taking the inventory,—the name of the officer in question I forget—told Mirza that he was responsible for it. The Mirza immediately pointed his revolver at him, but a Mr. Lindsay, with great agility, knocked his hand aside; the shot entered the ground. Then catching hold of the barrel, the Mirza tried to hit the officer with the butt end on the head, but the other English Officers present caught hold of him, and then removed their companion into another room.

From Farukabad the Mirza was appointed a Deputy Collector, 1st grade, with a salary of Rs. 600, at Sitapur, and Badagaon was granted him as jagir, in recognition of his services.

When he removed to Lucknow, General L. Barrow was the Chief Commissioner of Oudh, and Maharajah Man Singh was the head of the Talukdars of Oudh, and the Canning College, and the Ward Institution for the orphan children of the Talukdars, owed their existence to the combined exertions and foresight of these three. But the greatest work they did, was to bring into being the Council of the Talukdars of Oudh and Maharaja Man Singh, Khayum Jung was made its President, and Babu Deknaranjan was nominated its Secretary, and when the Mirza retired on pension he was appointed Secretary in place of the Babu.

Here, again, an incident occurred which is worth relating. At the time when the College was founded, a Committee of the Talukdars was called, of which the Chief Commissioner was President, and the Maharajah, Deputy President, and the Mirza Secretary. At this meeting a few minor subjects had been agreed to, when a discussion arose as to whether there should be a school or a college, and whether, at the beginning, a Head-master should be appointed, or a principal. The Maharajah, with the support of Raja Tajamul Hussain and other Talukdar who were present, was of the opinion that there should be less expenditure at the beginning, and therefore that the appointment of a Head-master would serve the purpose better. General Barrow and the Mirza, however were in favour of the appointment of a Principal.

Then the Maharajah, by way of sarcasm, said, " Yes, Mirza Sahib, you have given this opinion, because your children are reading at this institution."

Mirza, who in recent years had grown short-tempered, immediately lost control of himself, and replied, " You who wear a ' dhoti ' "—(cloth around the loins)—" what do you know of matters of education and bringing up of students ? "

Now, the Rajah was a man of such prestige, that the Talukdars of Oudh, whether Hindu or Muslim, held him in great esteem, and these words stupefied them ; and General Barrow, speaking emphatically, told the Mirza to keep his temper. Hearing this, the latter threw all the papers in front of the General, and left his chair, saying that he could appoint another Secretary.

The sitting was brought to an abrupt end, and the Mirza returned to his house. He was still in a great temper and having vented it on his Darogah Amir Khan, he entered his bungalow.

A few minutes later, when he was in the act of undressing himself, the Maharajah's conveyance made its appearance. I ran up to my uncle and informed him of this, and he came outside, just as he was, in a shirt.

The meeting between the two was wonderful. The Mirza was sitting with his head bowed, and with signs of repentance on his face, and then the Maharajah, after a moment or two, said smilingly, " Mirza Sahib, I have come to thank you for a special favour you have done for me."

" Maharajah, don't make me still more ashamed of myself," replied the Mirza. " I am a curt soldier—I have been guilty of a very foolish mistake to-day, and I ask you to pardon me for it."

" No, Mirza Sahib," then replied the Maharajah, " I swear I have come to express my thanks to you, because these Talukdars addressing me as Maharajah and Excellency had made me feel that I was entitled to their homage, but you have awakened me to-day." And having said this, the Raja stood up and wanted to embrace Mirza.

Mirza also now stood up, but shamefacedly, and placing his head on the Maharajah's bosom, said :

" What has happened has happened. Do not make me look small in my own eyes, but forgive my impertinence, and consider me as one of your humble servants."

Just then Raja Tajamul Hussan Khan, of Bhetwa-

Mhow, and Babu Dunkar Ranjan came in and the incident was closed.

The Maharajah, with the support of the Mirza, got the rules concerning the rights of the Talukdars passed into law with great ceremony and was able to get his grandson, Dudwa Sahib, appointed to succeed him, instead of his nephew, Tirlokinath, who was deprived of the right of succession. Both these boys were my school-mates, as also was Raja Amir Hussan Khan.

The story of Raja Amir Hussan Khan is also worth relating. His father, Nawab Ali Khan, who was very powerful at the Durbar of Wajad Ali Shah, was especially favoured by Ali Nakki Khan, the Minister, and carried influence with the Begums. He died during the Mutiny. As there was a suspicion of disloyalty with regard to him, the Ranee of Mahmudabad came to Sitapur with the infant and orphan, Amir Hassan, and placing the child's hand in the hands of the Mirza, said :

" Mirza Sahib, consider this orphan as your own son,* and help me widow as I am."

The Mirza took the Raja on his lap, and was very polite to the Ranee. I remember her very well. I was young, and she did not observe purdah with me, and, finally he made great exertions on her behalf and got her State released, and had the Raja made a recognised Ward.

He first studied at the school in Sitapur, and later on at Benares ; and after that he studied with us at the Lucknow Educational Institution.

The Ranee used always to send me specially prepared dishes in the month of Mohurrum, also very big wood-apples.

Sett Jai Dayal, the Talukdar of Biswan, recently told me that the papers which go to show the help the Mirza rendered to the Ranee, were still with him.

Of those who used to read with me three distinguished themselves, viz., Raja Amir Hussan Khan, Raja Bharga, at the hands of whose ancestors, Syed Salar Masood Kazi met his martyrdom—and Maharaja Ajudhiya (Dudwa Sahib). But the rest were mediocrities. Much was expected of Raja Indar Bhikran Sah, of Kherigudh, but unfortunately he died young. His Ranee made a great reputation for herself, but my intimacy with her husband is unknown to her.

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* Adopted son.—An adopted son passes completely out of the family of his natural father, into that of his adopted father, all the rights and duties of a son being transferred at the same time.

The house of Babu Dunkar Ranjan was, it is believed, ruined at the hands of Babu Raj Kumar, who was an underling of his. Such incidents occur in this world, and this was not an exception. It is a trite saying, " Do not expect any return for the good you do." A story is told of a man who said to Ahmed that Mahmud was abusing him. Ahmed thought over this for a long while, and then raising his head, said, " I have done no good turn to Mahmud—then, why is he abusing me ? "

Now it remains for me to write a short account of Raja Tajamul Hussan Khan of Bhetwa-Mhow and then turn to the third chapter of my life.

The Raja was a lean, middle-sized, pleasant-tempered man, and was considered educated in the light of those days. During the Mutiny most of the Rajas, Hindus and Muslims were loyal to the Emperor of Delhi, and rose to fight the British. The Raja was one of them, and, with his servants and relatives, ranged himself against General Outram near Aish-Bagh. There was a great fight, and the Raja was severely wounded, and for a time lay in an unconscious state amongst a great number of dead and dying, and his old servant, wounded all over the body, lay in a pool of blood beside him.

When the Raja came to himself, he found that the moon was shining and that all his retainers were killed. His servant also became conscious, and crawling along with great difficulty, the two reached the shade of a tree inside the Warab Garden. When the day dawned some of the Raja's people, while searching for him, found him there, and carried him away. He was destined to live, and therefore was picked up.

After the Mutiny, General Barrow got him arrested and there was a spirited conversation between them. The Raja with great courage, told the General that he had eaten the salt of the King of Oudh, and was bound to do his duty ; and that if he ate *their* salt (British), he would be loyal to them.

The General was very much taken with his courage, and, through his strong recommendation, got him acquitted. The Raja himself related to me the above facts.

When I was reading at the College, apart from the

Talukdars, most of the nobles of the time of Nawab Vizier of Oudh were living. The East India Company in pursuance of their usual policy, had conferred independence, with the nominal title of King, on the Vizier, and made him disloyal to the Moghul Emperor of India. These titular princes and princesses were then living in Lucknow : and the City was prosperous, and the citizens wealthy.

It is well-known that this Company of East Indian Merchants had also offered the same title, based on the same policy, to Nawab Nasir-ud-Dowlah Bahadur of the Deccan, but he, to his great glory and honour replied, " It would be proper for me to accept this title if it were granted to me by my Sovereign and Master, the King of Delhi. It would then enhance my prestige and dignity. You are not empowered to offer me this title, which in no wise increases my dignity." The result was that the ruler of the Deccan remains " His Highness " to this day, and the ruler of Oudh became " His Majesty." But as the poet says, " Neither was he able to get near God nor to meet his beloved—he failed in securing either."

For this ruler had no aptitude for kingship, and the British Government, with great consideration for the ryots and God's creatures, mercifully shifted Wajid Ali Shah to Calcutta, and took the administration of the country in its hands according to an Ayat* of the Koran.

JOURNEY TO HYDERABAD.—I have mentioned above that I had no interest in the school or the prescribed course of studies, and that I was surprised that I was able to secure a " First Class " in the Entrance Examination. Be that as it may, I could not get through the first Arts Examination, and I felt so disgusted with the College that I had no heart to appear for the examination a second time, I was also now anxious not to be a burden on my uncle, and as it happened that my relations with my aunt were rather strained, I made up my mind to go out in the world in search of employment.

Mr. Syed Hussain Bilgrami supported this idea of mine,

Translation of " Ayat."

* " Al Koran," Part 17. Ch. 21. (The Prophets Al-Ambiya), revealed at Mecca—Sec. 7, Verse 105.

" And certainly we wrote in the Book after the reminder that (as for) the land, my righteous servants shall inherit it."

and my uncle eventually giving me permission to act as I wished, the journey to Hyderabad was, for the following reasons, finally decided upon. First because Nawab Mir Turab Ali Khan, Salar Jung, Mukhtar-ul-Mulk, the Prime Minister of Hyderabad, was on a visit to Lucknow, and the Government of India had entertained him in the manner befitting the great independent rulers. All the Governors of the Provinces of India were ordered to consider him as an honoured guest, and for this reason Mr. Saunders, the then Resident, had accompanied him. He put up in Lucknow in General Barrow's bungalow, and had with him some of the court nobles and Jemadars of the army, and the General introduced to him the Talukdars of Oudh, and the nobility of the city. Amongst these was my late uncle Mirza Abbas Beg, and the Prime Minister was so pleased with his prepossessing appearance and conversation, that he invited him to enter his service. As the Mirza was free from all anxiety from material wants, and also was of an independent nature, he very politely declined the offer, but said that he would recommend a learned and clever young man to him. The next day he sent Mr. Syed Hussain Bilgrami, with a letter of introduction, to the presence of the Prime Minister, so famous in the political world. The Nawab was pleased with Mr. Syed Hussain's conversation, and wanted to employ him in his service, on Rs.300. But Mr. Syed Hussain refused this, because he was already getting Rs.150 at the college, while my uncle paid him another Rs.150 from the office of the " Lucknow Times."

Raja Amir Hussan Khan, the Talukdar of Mahmudabad, also entertained His Excellency in a manner befitting his high position ; and my uncle sent him several trays of delicacies, the best result of the " Chefs " of Lucknow, with the result that between him and the Nawab Sahib friendly relations were established.

My second reason for deciding to go to Hyderabad was the presence there of my cousin, Mirza Ghulam Fakruddin Khan, grandson of Nawab Elahee Baksh Khan (Maroof), the ruler of Loharu and Ferozepur Jhirka. He was appointed Tahsildar of Sirpur Tandur on the recommendation of my uncle.

The facts relating to this family are astonishing, and an example for those who have eyes to see. Nawab Elahee Baksh and Nawab Ahmed Baksh Khan, sons of Kasim Khan and Ariff Khan, were servants of the Alwar State, and in consideration of their services, and on the recommendation of the English, the King granted them Loharu and Ferozepur Jhirka* as Jhagirs, from the Alwar State, the same bringing in a revenue of almost Rs.80,000 each.

Nawab Ali Baksh Khan (Maroof) became a Sufi† and gave up the world, and hundreds of his disciples loitered at his palace day and night. Every disciple got food, clothing and cash from the Nawab, and in addition, dainty food was served out to them, while musical entertainments were given on a lavish scale. The Nawab was himself a poet. I remember a couplet of his :—

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* Ferozepur Jirkha of the Indian Gazetteer, now the Headquarters of the Girgaum District. Formerly it formed part of the Delhi District, but in 1858 it was transferred to the Punjab. The latest change took place on October 1st, 1912, on the occasion of Delhi becoming the official capital, instead of Calcutta.

The city of Delhi, with a small surrounding area—557 square miles in all—now forms a tiny district-province, ruled by a Chief Commissioner, under the direct orders of the Government of India. The Delhi division has ceased to exist, and Girgaum, together with Simla, Amballa and Rohtak, now constitute the Commissioner's division of Amballa in the Punjab.

The "Mehwatis" of Ferozepur are notorious thieves and robbers. During Nawab Shamshuddin Khan's time, they dared not plunder within his territory, but had a free licence to plunder wherever they pleased beyond it. The Mehwati depredations had gone on for centuries. The Sultan Balban (Ghiazuddin alias Ulugh Khan) who reigned from A.D. 1265-1287 temporarily suppressed them by punishment of awful cruelty—flaying the criminals alive, and so forth.—(From Vincent Smith's "Rambles and Recollections of General Sir W. H. Sleeman, K.C.B.," page 420.

† *Sufi.*—It must be explained that there are two classes of the professedly devout Sufis, viz., the "Saalik" and the "Majzub."

The true "Saalik" Sufis are those who give up the world and its allurements, devote themselves entirely to their Creator, and are insensible to any other enjoyments than those which they derive from their devotional exercises.

The "Majzub" Sufis have no established homes or earthly possessions. "Majzub," in its literal sense, means "abstracted." Many people suppose this class to have lost possession of their reason, and make excuse for their departure from the law on that score. Both classes, however, are held in great respect, because the latter are not deemed guilty of breaking the law, since they are supposed to be insensible to their actions while indulging in things forbidden.

"Few people are swayed as I am swayed in this old age ;
I am deeply engrossed in the society of the green coloured."

At the time when the Jhagirs were conferred on him, he sent his younger brother, Nawab Ahmed Baksh Khan to take them over, but he had the title-deeds executed in his own name, and then told his brother that he had done so because he had given up the world. It is said that, after this the Nawab refused to see the face of his brother during his lifetime. Nevertheless Ahmed Baksh Khan remained at the palace, like other servants of the Nawab, and generously paid all the expenditure which the Nawab incurred.

His son Nawab Ali Baksh Khan, was so disgusted with his uncle's perfidy, that he left his hearth and home, and went away travelling and sight-seeing. For some time, however, he remained in Hyderabad, as the guest of Nawab Amir-i-Kabir, and it was on his recommendation that Mohamed Mukeem was appointed a Darogah in the service of this Nawab, with whom he gained such influence that he soon became a Minister in his household, and was honoured with the title of Khan Bahadur Ansar Jung. His son, Hamza Ali Khan, had a great regard for me. This gentleman's daughter was married to Nawab Ekbal-ud-dowlah, the younger son of Nawab Rashi-ud-din Khan Vikar-ul-Umra and of her was born Nawab Wali-ud-din Khan. For the education of this scion of the family, I appointed the late Moulvi Hidayat Ullah, who used to teach my boys ; and he also accompanied his pupil to England.

He came to see me at Ajmere Sharif, and I made a recommendation on his behalf to His late Highness, Nawab Sir Mir Mahbub Ali Khan (on whom be peace !)

I, myself, was doubly related to the family of Loharu, for my aunt, Amanee Khanum, was married to Nawab Ali Baksh (be it said by the way, there was not much love lost between husband and wife), and my grandfather, Mirza Nowsha, was married to the daughter of Nawab Ahmed Baksh Khan. When I visited them with my mother, this lady, my grandfather's wife, used to give me a two anna piece. Strange to say, in this case also, the husband and the wife fell out with each other.

The ladies of this highly placed and aristocratic family, although enlightened and polished, were proud. The men were loyal to friends, very pleasing to talk to, well-behaved, and generous in the extreme to the members of their family.

His Highness, the present Nawab of Loharu, is a shining example of his family. He had the title of K.C.I.E. conferred on him.

I beg leave of my reader to relate here an amusing story of the father of the present Nawab. The Viceroy held a Durbar at Lahore, and all the Punjab chiefs were invited to attend it. The Nawab, according to a family custom, attended the Durbar, girded with belt and sword round his waist, and to this the Secretary objected. Looking at the Secretary with utter astonishment and disgust, the Nawab retorted, " Very well, take away the sword, and dub me ' The Angel of the Sarungi.' "*

The loss of Ferozepur Jhirka from their possession is an astonishing tale.

Mr. Fraser came as Resident to Delhi, from Calcutta. Full of life and a lover of pleasure, he at first kept a beautiful " Mayvatan," named " Serven." In respect of this a parody was composed, that became famous in those days :—

" From Calcutta far started Fraygin (Fraser)
With blessings of the five saints.
Leave off sitting on a ' Peerhi ' my ' Sirven ' fair,
And learn to sit on an easy chair."

Then he had an eye on the sister of Nawab Shamshuddin Khan, the son of Nawab Ahmed Baksh Khan. The Nawab instigated a villian, who, one day when Mr. Fraser was out riding, shot him,† and despatched him to the Pleasure-Palace of Jupiter. Then the English by stratagem, arrested the Nawab, and hanged him. Thus Ferozepur Jhirka was confiscated.

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* *Sarungi.*—A musical instrument somewhat like a violin, which forms the accompaniment of a dancing-girl.

† *Murder of Mr. Fraser.*—According to General Hervey, the provocation was that Mr. Fraser had enquired about the Nawab's sister by name. His murderer, Karim Khan, was known as " Bhar Maru " (sharp-shooter), Nawab Shamshuddin Khan was implicated in this murder, and tried and found guilty, was executed on Thursday morning, 3rd October, 1835, close outside the North or Kashmere Gate, leading to the Cantonments. He prepared himself for the execution in a rich and beautiful dress of light green, the sacred colour of Moslems; but he was made to exchange this for other

The third reason for my leaving Lucknow was this, that General Barrow, who was our great patron, was struck with paralysis, and had to go away to England, A more popular officer could not be found. The doctor had prohibited anybody to approach him, but a Talukdar, by the name of Ajita Singh, one day found an opportunity to hide himself in the fire-place of the room, and then, when the General was alone, he came out of his hiding-place and approached him. Seeing each other, they both burst into tears. Then the General's wife came running in, and turned the Rajah out.

A strange incident occured before I finally made up my mind to leave for Hyderabad. One day as I returned from College I found a poor Brahmin standing near the gate. He had his horoscope book under his arm. On asking me for alms, I took him to task for earning his livelihood by begging, and told him that, being young and healthy, he should work for his living. He replied peevishly, and asked me to sit down and show my hand. I sat down. He first looked at my hand, and afterwards in his book, and then after some deep thinking, he said, " You'll leave for the Deccan on a certain day."

" I laughed, and told him to clear out, as I had no faith in his book ; and to that he replied : " My friend, I'll come another day. If you happen to remain here, I'll tear up my book : otherwise at the time when you are leaving, give me whatever charity you think proper."

I regret to say I did not leave anything behind for this Brahmin, and I left on the very day he had mentioned.*

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garb. Just as he expired, his body made a last turn, and left his face towards the West, the direction in which the sacred Kaaba, the tomb of the Holy Prophet, is situated, which the Muslims of Delhi considered a miracle, and as indicating that he was a martyr. This incident is mentioned by Vincent Smith in the " Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official," by Major-General W. H. Sleeman, K.C.B. *Vide* also " Kuliath-a-Ghalib," by Ali Baksh Khan, page 3.

* *The Najumi* (astrologers) are men, generally with some learning, who, for their supposed skill in foretelling the past, present, and the future, have in all ages and in all countries been more or less courted by the people. It is wonderful the influence a Najumi

On the morning of my departure, I went to my uncle (on whom be peace !) to bid him farewell, and from there I went direct to the station and entered the train. A servant by the name of Ghansi Khan accompanied me. This man was a first-class butler and cook.

After having stopped a day at Jubbulpore, I reached Bhosawal, and rested under a shady tree in the compound of the Dak bungalow, while Ghansi Khan, with alacrity prepared my dinner.

In the morning it was decided that we should go to our cousin Nawab Ghulam Fakruddin Khan, at Sirpur, and from there proceed to Hyderabad. We hired a bullock conveyance, and, although we knew nothing about the route, we, on the suggestion of the driver, arranged for him to take us to Nagpur. But when we reached Palakwadi, the driver became recalcitrant, and refused to proceed further, and we were forced to take refuge in a shop, and think over the question of securing another conveyance for our purpose. It occurred to me then, that I should call on some official of the place, so as to be able to get along, and accordingly, having dressed myself in my best clothes I went in search of one. I was soon informed that the Deputy Collector was camping in the village—which was a small one—and I went straight to him. He was sitting out in the open maidan.

I do not know the reason, but when he saw me he was very courteous, and making me sit down, inquired as to my name, etc. Having heard my name, he stood up and shook me heartily by the hand, and said that although I had not recognised him, he was a great friend of my uncle's. Then I remembered him, and his story, which was a queer one.

At one time he was posted at Unao, and while there, a notorious " Budmash " and highwayman, who had been arrested only after great difficulty, was brought before him, and was given by him the full term of imprisonment permissible by the law. The prisoner then said that he would not remain in the jail, and told him to beware of his

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acquires. He is the oracle to be consulted on all occasions ; and whether the required solution be of the utmost importance or the merest trifling matters, people submit with child-like docility to the Najumi's opinion, and that even when their better reason, is allowed to hold sway, would decide otherwise.

nose. It was a known fact that the man had cleverly broken out of jail several times before, and the Deputy was so frightened at his threat, that he had himself transferred to the Central Provinces. His name was Devi Pershad.

However, after we had conversed for a while. I told him the reason for my travel, and of my intention to proceed to Sirpur Tandur, and he then said :

" You can go direct to Chanda* from here, and then you will reach Sirpur Tandur without circumvention." And he ordered his " chaprasi " to fetch a conveyance for me.

In a shop opposite to the one in which we had taken refuge, a gentleman was sojourning, whose name was Mirza Abdul Rahim Beg. Tall, of a brown colour, and with a white beard falling to his waist, he was playing the " sitar." He also came to see me and after enquiring about my journey said :

" Look at the chance ! I am as much a Moghul† as you are. And like yourself, I am going to Sirpur, for that is also my destination. Get me a conveyance, so that we can enjoy each other's company the better.

However, he himself got the conveyance we wanted, and we became fellow-travellers and companions.

It was the hot season—the month was either May or June—and the heat was unbearable ; and in view of this, and of the hot vapours, which, rising from the ground and reaching high up to the sky, made it difficult to see anything through them, we decided that we would travel during the night and rest in the day.

My companion had a gun, and also a sword ; and a grown-up son, by the name of Baboo, accompanied him.

We filled our cart with oranges and left Palakwadi at eventide.

Ghansi Khan had brought an axe with a very long handle, and this was the only weapon of offence I had with me.

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* *Chanda* is the headquarters of a district of the same name in the Central Provinces, on the G.I.P. Railway, Six miles from here is Balharsha, the terminus of the Railway, where the Frontiers of British India and H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions meet. Painganga, a tributary of the Godavri, divides one portion from the other.

† *Moghul.*—The term is applied to Mohammedans of Turkish descent (Mongol). Such persons affix the title of Beg to their names, and often prefix the Persian title, Mirza.

We commenced our journey at five in the evening, after "Isha" prayers, and the next morning, at ten o'clock, we alighted at a suitable place, which also gave us shelter from the heat.

During the day we used to wrap several sheets of cloth and tape taken from the cot, round the cart, and having thus improvised a shelter, we rested underneath it.

In this manner we reached a place which is called Hinghinghat. It was then four in the morning, and we agreed that we should stop there; and while we took shelter under the shade of a tree, Ghansi Khan, taking a vessel, went to fetch water for the "Vazzu" (ablution).* He returned with the vessel empty, at about six or seven in the morning when the time for the morning prayer had passed.

I was frightened out of my wits when I came to know that all the wells in the village had run dry, and that even the river springs had dried up; and then Mirza Abdul Rahim Beg said that a mistake had been committed in taking that route, and that no water would be found for a distance of nine or ten koss.† I was thinking with my head lowered, but he rose, and fetching his file of papers began to read an elegy composed by himself.

Although he was a gentleman, far advanced in age, I could not help being put out, and I asked him whether that was the occasion for him to act as he was doing. He replied that I was comparatively a young man, without any experience of the world, and therefore lost heart at the least misfortune. And saying that he had dreamt many such troublesome dreams, he closed his file, and began to discourse and comment on a couplet of Ghalib's:—

> "A meeting with you, if not difficult, then 'tis easy:
> The difficulty is this, that it is not difficult."

Much against my wish I began, in consideration of the man's age, to comment upon this.

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* *The Holy Koran.—Vazzu or Ablution.*—The description and how to perform, *vide* the Holy Koran by Moulvi Mohamed Ali, M A., LL.B., preface XV, ii.

† The Koss varies much in value, but in most parts of India it is reckoned as equal to two miles. According to the N.W.P. Gazetteer, page 568, the nearest approximate value to the Agra Kos is 1⅝ miles.

While we were thus engaged, we had not noticed that a young man, wearing only a loin-cloth and a shirt, was standing, holding a branch of the tree overhead and listening intently. He now advanced and asked permission to sit on the carpet.—I took him to be either a pandit or " kyasth."

He sat down, and having read a couple of Ghalib's verses, wanted me to comment on them. I was very much struck at this, and began to explain their meaning.

Abdul Rahim Beg quietly got up and went away in a certain direction, and then returning, said to me in a whisper, that this gentleman was the Tahsildar of the place. He afterwards spoke to him.

" Mr. Tahsildar," he said, " this young traveller is Mirza Asadullah Khan Ghalib's grandson." The man rose and having stated that he was a pupil of Ghalib's through correspondence, embraced me with great fervour, and then asked me to accompany him pointing to the gate opposite as that of his house. It was only a few paces away. I tried my best to be excused, but he would not hear of it. My disinclination to accompany him was, indeed, merely ostensible, and we both were really glad to accept his invitation.

When we had finished the fine meal he gave us, I, as I was washing my mouth out, took a dead scorpion into it. I immediately spat the scorpion out, but, all the same, the others were greatly excited, and the condition of the Tahsildar cannot be described. The latter, as we were leaving, gave us a small pot of water to be kept in our cart, and said that he had given us a portion that he had kept for his children.

On enquiry, we were informed that during the hot season " bhistees " (water-carriers) for the Muslims and " Kahars " for the Hindus, brought weekly, sufficient water to last seven or eight days.

We left this God-forsaken place at about five in the evening, after " Asar " prayers, and tried, by travelling throughout the night, to reach some place where we could find water.

A very amusing incident took place on this journey, which is worth adverting to.

We were proceeding by moonlight, when, all of a sudden, the Mirza ordered the carts to be stopped, and asked me whether I heard certain sounds. On listening intently I heard sounds resembling those made by bells. My companion then declared that dacoits were after us, and we others felt anxious. With a view to protection, the Mirza now posted himself behind the carts with the gun in his hand, with the intention of guarding the rear, and posted his son to the right, with the sword; while he made Ghansi Khan take his axe, and stand in front of the carts. He then asked me, who remained unarmed, to stand to his left, and said that when the dacoits came in view, I should call out to him. While we were making these arrangements the sound came nearer.

I was the first to set my eyes on a rustic approaching. He was naked; and on his shoulder carried a stick to which was attached a weight. He came running towards us, and then I saw that the weight on his stick was a cluster of bells. He was a postal runner! I began to laugh and called aloud to the Mirza that the dacoits had come. He became excited and asked me where, and in what direction; but he was very much ashamed when he became aware of the reality.

After completing several stages of our journey, we gradually entered a rather thick jungle, where the ground was strewn with boulders. The Mirza Sahib was our guide. It was here that he asked me for twenty rupees, promising to repay the amount at Sirpur. As the jungle was pretty thick, we agreed to the impropriety of travelling through it during the night.

Outside a village, the name of which I have forgotten, we arranged to encamp. The tiresome journey had brought on a stupor, and I slept till I awoke for the morning prayer, and then I found that my companion had fled with his cart, and disappeared.

Ghansi Khan was enraged at this, and said that as the man could not have gone very far, he would go and catch him. But as I was in a strange land, and on a journey, with a thick jungle around us, I did not permit him to do so.

While I sat thinking whither to go and by what route, a young man, in white, with a Punjabi appearance, happened to pass by, and on seeing me, he came up and made certain inquiries. He proved to be the doctor of the town close by, and explained his having addressed me by saying that they who live out in the jungles do not know what is passing beyond. " As you are a fresh-comer," he said," you may have read the news of what is taking place around. Are you aware that a steamer carrying pilgrims has been lost in the sea ? As my parents have gone on a pilgrimage, I am minded to make these inquiries."

I replied that if that had happened, I should have known of it.

He then told me, in reply to inquiries I made on my side, that I was taking the wrong road, and that Chanda was due East, at some distance from where I was.—" You will have to turn back," he added. " I have never heard the name of Sirpur, but I have heard that the Moglai frontier is a few hours' distance. There you may be able to ascertain the direction to Sirpur."

Ghansi Khan then told him that a " budmash " had committed a fraud, and gone off with twenty rupees.

The doctor regretted our helplessness and said that he would get us a " begar," so that after reaching the " Moglai " frontier we could get to our destination. However, he secured for us a villager (Dher) and said that at the next village he would get us another guide, and in this fashion we could reach the frontier. He also asked us to pay something to these villagers as a compensation for their trouble.

We resumed our journey and reached a village at about mid-day but our guide, who went to fetch another to take his place, returned from the village to say that the Patel refused to provide the " begar "and to ask leave for himself to go. At this I became very anxious, and I asked the man who was the Patel of the place. He replied that he was the headman of the " Dhers."*

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* *Dher.*—The tanner caste of the Maratha Districts is numerous also in all parts of the Carnatic, and is to be found, too, in a smaller number, in some parts of Telingana.

The name " Dher " means " horned cattle," and is doubtless bestowed upon this caste with reference to their occupation of tanning and dressing cattle-skins. They appear to be a degraded branch of the great Chambhar caste of the Marathawada country ; and this view derives support from the fact that, in whatever country they are found settled, they speak Marathi as their home tongue. They are robust and fair, with well-developed chests and wide faces, and in all their features they give evidence of a Maratha origin. Also, the Maratha title of " Jhi " is affixed to their names.

The Dhers are divided into five endogamous groups, viz.—(1)

Having heard this Ghansi Khan said that he would fetch him by force, and asked me not to let this fellow go meanwhile. Ghansi Khan really succeeded in getting hold of a " Dher "—who was naked from head to foot—and asked my permission to take him before the Tahsildar, who was then camping close by.

The Patel was very much frightened at this, and promised to give us a guide. He intimated, however, that the frontier was about one or two koss (about two miles) from where we were, and that he would expect eight annas for the guide and one rupee for himself as remuneration.

At this Ghansi Khan boxed his ears for him, and said " My man, you are quarrelling with a gentleman who is the friend of the Tahsildar."

But I intervened, and promised the Patel payment on condition that he gave us a good guide,

At about " Asher " time, we reached the Wardha river, and having crossed it, entered for the first time the Moglai jurisdiction. Facing us was a village and when we arrived there the people assembled around us.

Then a tall, brown-complexioned man, who, dressed in white, was armed to the teeth—he had a sword in his hand a shield thrown on his back and a pistol and dagger attached to his belt—came up to me, and, after hearing my story, was very polite. He said Sirpur Tandur was about four or five stages on, and he got me a " charpoy " (cot), etc., which were the necessary concomitants of travel in those days—I learned that this man was the Thekadar

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Range Dher, (2) Budhale Dher, (3) Kakayya Dher, (4) Chambhar Dher, and (5) Shadu Dher.

Owing to their filthy occupation and habits, the Dhers have been condemned to the lowest grade in the Hindu social system, and hold, at the present day, a rank superior only to the Maha Mang and other degraded classes.

(" The Castes and Tribes of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions," by Syed Sirajul Hassan, Vol. I, pp. 171-176.)

Kahar, Kahar Bhoi, Mahigir, are a very small fishing and agricultural caste, some of whose members are engaged as palanquin-bearers. It is represented as a mixed caste, descended from a Brahman father and a Nishad mother. The social status of the caste is superior to that of the Bhois and inferior to that of the Maratha Kunbis, from whose hands they eat kache, or uncooked food

(" The Castes and Tribes of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions," by Syed Sirajul Hassan, Vol. I, p. 300.)

(contractor) of the village, and that his name was Fateh Khan.

While Ghansi Khan busied himself in the preparation of dinner, I got into conversation with this man, and I was able to elicit from him that Salar Jung had succeeded in establishing the Government prestige even in such an out of the way spot as this village, situated as it was in the thickest part of the jungle: and I also learned that my route lay through difficult country, and was dangerous in the extreme. There was not much fear of robbers, but the jungle was infested with man-eating tigers and other wild animals; and at every fifty or sixty paces Baghoray (warning posts) were constructed to keep the travellers on the " qui vive."

The cart-men becoming aware of the danger through which we should have to pass, now refused to go farther; but on Fateh Khan assuring them that he had not even seen a fox, they gave way, and we proceeded.

On our reaching Rajura, however, the cart-men again refused to go on, and I became more anxious than ever, for the whole prospect was new and strange to me. The jungle around me was so thick, that owing to the great trees that raised their heads to the sky, the rays of the sun could hardly penetrate to the ground. It was also full of animals of all kinds, both ferocious and harmless; and, in addition, here were we without food, unarmed, in a strange country, and under a Government of which I knew nothing.

Rajura* was the headquarters of the Moglai Tahsil. I dressed myself in my best, and went out to pay my respects to the Tahsildar, but the Chaprasi speaking in a harsh tone sent me away, saying that the Sirkar was resting and would not be visible till two or three in the afternoon.

I returned from there with greater anxiety, but had not gone more than a few steps, when I saw a few men in uniform. On my inquiring who these were, I was told that they were police, and that the Inspector was in his office. So I made up my mind to try my luck there, and told the policeman on duty to inform the Inspector that a traveller had come to see him.

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* *Rajura* is situated 5 miles from the Painganga, the river which forms the boundary between British India and the Nizam's Dominions. It is the headquarters of a Tahsil of the same name, and forms the North East Taluka of the Adilabad District, in the Warangal Division.

The Inspector permitted me to enter his office, and then, the moment he saw me, he came forward and embraced me, and asked me how I managed to be there in that God-forsaken place.

I was astonishment personified, and much wished to know who he was, but for the sake of keeping up appearances, reciprocated his enthusiasm as if I knew him.

We fell to talking and relating our experiences, and while we were thus engaged, he gave orders for things to be provided for my entertainment. I now ascertained that his name was Mirza Ahmed Baig, and that he was the nephew of Mirza Walee Baig ; and he stated that he used often to see us in Lucknow.

We rested comfortably there for a day, and left on the next.

The Inspector sent two policeman to accompany us, and finally, having covered the route in safety, we arrived at Sirpur, where I met my elder cousin.

He was greatly astonished as to how I had managed to reach the place, safe and sound, and praised my courage.

I spent the remaining portion of the hot season and the whole of the rainy season there ; and while I was preparing to leave for Hyderabad, my cousin, on the other hand, having obtained leave, got into readiness to go to Delhi.

Sirpur* is a small town situated in the midst of a thick

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* *Sirpur* is the head-quarters of a Tahsil of the same name in the Adilabad District of the Warangal (Eastern) Division. In the early days, when there were no railways, travellers from Upper India followed the route touching Rajura, Sirpur, Nizamabad, etc., on their way to Hyderabad. Now a railway has been opened from Manmar direct to Hyderabad, much to the convenience and comfort of the inhabitants and the prosperity of the country. When the author was on his way to Hyderabad, he left the railway at Bhusawal, and traversed the country via Nagpur and Chanda in British India, and Rajura (Manakgarh), Sirpur (Tandur), etc., in the Nizam's Dominions.

The district is known for its valuable forests and big-game shooting. Tigers and wild animals are so numerous, that they are known to enter villages even during the day-time and carry off cattle and human beings. The district is comparatively thinly jungle. The inhabitants who are called Ghonds* live in grass huts. Their colour is black, and they go about almost naked. The men, however, wear also a piece of cloth wrapped round their heads ; and the women wear a piece of cloth thrown over their breasts, which taken over their right shoulder and under the left armpit, is tied behind their backs. This is the only dress these people have. The features of the men are very similar to those of the Turcomans. The women, with the exception that they are of a polished black colour, possess very good features, and they have long hair. Long ago the village was protected by a mud fortress. But that built in ancient days is now a mass of ruins, and only its gate, which, in their parlance, is called a " bunk " remains.

I had a grass shed, with improvised bamboo tatties to take the place of walls put up for myself, and living in it I spent the hot and the rainy seasons under its shelter.

I occupied myself with reading some English books which I had with me, and also practising essay-writing.

Manik Rao, who was a clerk in the Tahsil, used to read Anwar-i-Suhali with me, and Munshi Amiruddin, Persian. The latter, a man of very short stature—he hardly came up to my shoulders—with a long beard which fell on to his chest, was the Amaldar of this Taluka, and considered himself a great Persian scholar, both in prose and poetry. He wrote his judgments in flowery and bombastic language. He was on a visit to this village, to dispose of certain cases and to inspect the Tahsil office.

The Police Inspector was an illiterate fellow who was at one time a butler to some English officer. His age could

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populated, because of the dense vegetation, which, as a rule, breeds malaria and causes many deaths.

A new Railway line is being laid from Kazipet to Chanda, which will open up the wild tracts of the Adilabad and Karimnagar districts, and bring the Central Provinces within easy reach of Hyderabad.

* *The Ghonds.*—The members of this tribe, the head-quarters of which is Nagpur, in the Central Provinces, are believers in ghosts and sorcery. A great many of them now profess Hinduism, and have replaced their Peer or great God by Mahdeo. A Ghond child is shaved and named on the fifth day after its birth. The Caste assembles at a feast of Jowari (Holcus Saccharatus)— bread and liquor, at which the women sing songs in praise of the child's ancestors. The following are the names of some of their gods : Bhimsa, Bhargarai, Thakur Deo, Pharsi Pen, Buvi Deo and Gorla Deo.

not have been less than sixty or sixty-five years. He had a big Madrassi turban, and wore a shirt, and a cloth bound round his body, instead of trousers. He spoke Urdu with a typical Madrassi accent.

A company of Arabs was stationed at the Tahsil for the protection of the treasury. It had for its commander an aged Arab, who was called " The Chaous " ; and he used to offer me coffee daily, after " Zohir " prayers.

The Inspector lived on the people of the place, even to the extent of having his horse fed and groomed and looked after by the ryots. And when he wished, he went into the jungle and shot buck, and then kept the flesh dried and hung up for days, Thus he was able to save the whole of his salary.

My cousin and I had either chicken for our meals or went without any meat, because only once in the week was a sheep slaughtered, and the meat distributed to those who had a desire for it.

God was merciful and saved me once from the bite of a snake, and at another time from a tiger.

The Inspector and myself often went out in the afternoons towards the tank. It was known that a cobra of a light colour lived in the ruins of the fortress. It was a long powerful reptile, and used to come out of its resting-place at about sunset, and attack those who happened to pass that way, with the result that the road in the direction was perforce closed. One day when the Inspector and myself had proceeded to the tank, I saw that the time for sunset prayers was fast approaching, and so, having said my prayers in a hurry, I returned home. The Inspector, however, being in a forgetful mood, delayed his return, and, consequently, while he was on this road the snake confronted him. He thought his time had come, but he raised his gun to his shoulder and fired at it. The bullet struck the snake on its hood, but as it had grown dark, the man did not know this, and remained standing in a stupefied state, while reciting the Kalima all the time. When, however, he found that the snake did not attack him, he came somewhat to his senses, and dropping his gun he fled from the scene, finally arriving at my house, in such a state of terror, that he fell on my cot, crying aloud, " Snake ! snake ! "

On another occasion—it was on the night following the above incident—a hue and cry was raised in the village that a tiger had been seen to enter it. The " Chaous," with a few of his Arabs armed with firelocks came over to me, because the tiger had jumped over the " tathe " (grass-barrier) surrounding the place where I lived, and entered the closet ; and the son-in-law of the Chaous, who went by the name of " Abdu," with great courage went in and shot the brute there.

THE JOURNEY FROM SIRPUR TO HYDERABAD. Manik Rao, who had become my pupil, brought me a large Arab horse. It was of a grey colour, but much advanced in age ; and I bought the animal for Rs.12. My cousin left for Delhi via Chanda ; and I, seated on this horse, with my belongings, and Ghansi Khan in the cart, said good-bye to the Inspector and the " Chaous," and left for Hyderabad with two policemen as guards. I said my " Isha " prayers in an open maidan, near which I found an encampment of " Binjaras." [*] Around this open expanse of country was a thick forest of tremendous dimensions, and as our way lay through it, people advised us to pass the night there, with the Binjaras, who were all armed, and enter the jungle in the morning. But being young and foolhardy, I made up my mind to negotiate the forest then and there, especially as I was told that within two or three hours we could get to the other side of it, and reach a certain village. But when the people threatened me with the fear of the " Binjaras," I decided to approach the headman of this tribe personally.

The fellow was seated on a cot like a Raja, smoking a hookah. He had a red turban on his head, and wore a waistcoat, with a dhoti (loin-cloth) that reached to his knees. When he saw me he stood up, and then I sat down with him on the same cot and made inquiries about the road.

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[*] *The Binjaras.*—The Binjaras or Brinjaras are a wandering tribe principally employed as carriers of grain and salt on bullocks and cows. They used to form the transport service of Mughal armies and the Company's forces at least as late as 1819. Their organization and customs are in many ways peculiar. The development of roads and railways has much diminished the importance of this tribe. A good account of it will be found in the " Balfour Cyclopædia of India," 3rd Ed., 1885. S. C. Bunjare—" Dubois Hindu Manners," etc., 3rd Edition. 1906, page 17. states that of all the castes of the Hindus this particular one is acknowledged to be the most brutal.

He replied that it was difficult to traverse the forest at that hour, because it was infested with dangerous wild beasts ; but if the bullocks were strong and speedy, one could get across before darkness fell.

I took a " Binjara " from him as a guide, and with the name of God the Merciful on my lips, I entered the forest. The trees stood high, and the branches entwined themselves in such a manner, that we had proceeded only a short distance when the shades of the foliage became so dense that we thought night had fallen. The two policemen with their guns in front of the cart ; Ghansi Khan with his axe, and the Binjara with his weapon, were behind it ; and I rode on, sometimes to the right and at other times to the left.

I enquired of the Binjara whether there was any fear of robbers and thieves, and he laughing aloud, replied, " Sir, under the regime of Salar Jung,* one could proceed from here to Hyderabad, with gold displayed on his hands, and still come to no harm."

While midway in the forest the wooden shaft of the cart gave way, and we were suddenly thrown into great anxiety.

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* *Sir Salar Jung I.*—" The Nizam's Dominions have for nearly a whole generation been governed by an eminent Mohammedan statesman, first, in the capacity of Minister of the late Nizam, and secondly, as Co-regent during the minority of the present Nizam. The amelioration effected within this time will hardly be realised by any save those who are acquainted with the cankers which used to eat into the heart of that hapless State. The Arab mercenaries, nominally the servants, but really the masters of the Nizam, professedly his guard, but in action his controllers, have been brought within manageable compass ; rich districts have been rescued from the avaricious grasp of military chiefs to whom they had been mortgaged in security for arrears of pay due to the troops ; the Rohillas, who prowled about the country like hungry wolves, are resting in enforced quiet ; and the mob at the capital, Hyderabad, once a seething and surging mass of devilry, has been cowed and quelled. A regular administration in civil affairs has been introduced throughout the country ; and there has been formed a class of Native administrators of independence in character, fertility in resource, and vigour in conduct. . . ."—*Vide* " India in 1880," by Sir Richard Temple, Bart. (pp. 67-68).

Ghansi Khan advised me to take one of the two policemen and get on across, but I refused to leave my men. The policemen wanted to go and fetch a carpenter, but Ghansi Khan whispered to me that if I allowed them to go, they would not return that day, and we should be left in the lurch. So I refused to agree to their doing so.

We then collected dry leaves and wood, and making them into piles on four sides, lighted bonfires. That done we tied the horse and bullocks to the cart, and the men sat close to it.

I, myself, climbed a tree, and selected a strong thick branch, on which I sat astride, with my back to the trunk. During the night we (by the grace of God !) did not hear a single movement or sound from any wild animal.

At day-break I said my prayers, and then sent one of the policemen to the village ; and at the end of about two hours he returned with a carpenter.

We started again at about ten o'clock. On the way we came across a dry " nullah," and then the men raised a cry. It appeared that traces of a tiger were visible on the sand, and therefore they wished to stop ; but I did not allow the cart to tarry, and I rode across the rivulet at a gallop. The horse, however, with raised ears, became restive, and then, looking here and there, I saw a tiger sitting with its back towards us, on a mound in front. He only turned to look at me once, and then, getting down, bounded away in the opposite direction.

Eventually we reached the banks of the Godavery, where we found several men dressed in white, resting. Possibly they were in the service of the State. Leaving the cart on this side of the river, I had the horse tied to the coracle, on which, with my companions, I then embarked. And thus we crossed the river.

The policemen managed to hire a cart on the other side of the river, to take me to Hyderabad, and then biding me good-bye, they turned back with the Binjara.

I reached Karimnagar by stages through a veritable forest of custard-apples, which I thoroughly enjoyed. This town was in a prosperous state, and was the headquarters of the Talukdar and other officials.

I stopped a day outside the town, under a shady tree, and then went on to Amjal; and leaving there, the next day I arrived at Hyderabad.*

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* *Hyderabad.*—A description of Hyderabad, from the pen of Captain R. F. Burton, published in the "Times of India," 11th March, 1876, is most interesting. It can be found in "Hyderabad Affairs," page 335, and extracts from it are given below.

"Hyderabad owes its origin to Sultan Mohamed Kuli II, of the Kutb Shahi or Golconda dynasty, who, about A.D. 1520, built a country palace for one of his mistresses, the lady Baghvati, and called the outpost Bhagnagar.

"It is said that Mohamed Kuli Khan once rode out a-hunting, and passed into a forest, which, occupying a beautiful spot, was envied for its pleasantness and purity of air. There he was pleased to build a city, and ordered astrologers of skill and discernment to fix the auspicious moment for laying the first stone. The year in which the city began is known by the words, "Ya Hafiz" (A.H. 1000), and that of its completion, "Farkhunda Bunyad," the modern title (A H. 1006).

"It became the capital of Nizam-ul-Mulk (a regulator of the State).

The head of the Asaf-Jahi House. Shortly after the Emperor Aurungzeb, in 1687 captured Golconda, and led prisoner the last Kutb-Shahi King, Abul Hussain, popularly known as Tana Shah.

"The city is said to measure 14 miles in circumference, and contains 400,000 souls."

Captain Burton's description, although faithful, is much out of date. The present city can bear comparison with the capital cities of India. It is most picturesquely situated on the banks of the River Musi, and has extended far and wide in all directions so much so that Secunderabad Bolarum and Begumpett now form its suburbs. It is considered to be the fourth city in India, after Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, with a population of over 500,000 inhabitants.

Founded in 1589 by the above-mentioned Mohamed Kuli (Golconda is five miles west of Hyderabad), the capital lies in 17′22 N. latitude and 88′27 E. longitude, and is on the N.G.S. Railway, being distant by rail, 492 miles from Bombay, 533 miles from Madras, and 987 miles from Calcutta. Built in the form of a parallelogram, six miles in circumference, and covering a total area of some two and a half miles, the city is surrounded by a stone wall, flanked with bastions, and pierced with thirteen gates and twelve khirkis or posterns.

The rule of His Exalted Highness Sir Meer Osman Ali Khan Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.B.E., may well be compared with that of the Emperor Shah Jehan, famous in History, for architecture and other works of public utility. On the banks of the River Musi, the High Court Building, the Osmania Hospital, and the City College, adorn the city, and vie with each other in magnificence of design and graceful proportions. The river banks are turned into beautiful gardens, with lawns and kiosks. In course of time, with a good supply of water in the river, the landscape will surpass in beauty

My cousin had given me a letter when I was leaving Sirpur, and the following was written on the envelope: "This should reach my brother Hakim Ali Raza, at Mustaidpura, in the city of Hyderabad." I went, making

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the scene witnessed on the River Seine, Paris, or the River Thames, close to Kew Gardens.

The main street running North and South which nearly divides the city into two equal parts, is no longer the Puthar Gutti of old, which Captain Burton describes as follows.

"There is no pavement except patches of black basalt, which reminded my wife of the Saleh-i-yyan Causeway at Damascus; and in places the original granite still outcrops in uninjured boulders."

Now the thoroughfare is made available for horse and motor conveyances, and on both sides shops are in course of construction, with a definite plan in architecture, which make it one of the most beautiful streets in India.

It is not necessary for me to allude here to the vast changes that have and are taking place since the time His Exalted Highness ascended the throne. Suffice it to say, that, even to a casual observer, the improvements all round are visible. A visit to Osman Saugar, Himayath Saugar, and the Nizam Saugar, which is in course of construction, will speak for itself.

In conclusion I may quote a passage of Captain Burton's about the orderliness of this City, which still enjoys immunity from the operations of the Arms Act, even though it abounds with Arabs, Pathans, Sikhs, and Rohillas, who go about fully armed, and are apt to fall out at the slightest provocation. Captain Burton says:

"Forty years ago Hyderabad may have been a turbulent city in which Europeans could not enter without insult or injury, and where lawlessness and recklessness of life were the laws of the land, but a couple of generations, and, let me add, the progressive measures of an enlightened Minister (Sir Salar Jung I), have completely changed the condition of things. Still, popular and even official opinion, whose watch is always an age or two behind the time, refuse to admit the change. 'You have come from a place where you may be murdered at any moment,' was the remark of a late Viceroy to an Englishman who had taken service under H.H. the Nizam; and yet during the last 35 years I am assured that not a single European has been murdered in the Moslem Dominions, and the only one wounded suffered the consequences of his own fault. Nothing was done here by the enraged peasantry to the gentleman-sportsman who engaged in a battue of the prince's tame deer. 'Of course you had a large escort,' said a friend to me in Bombay, on hearing my tale. We had nothing beyond a Mahout (elephant-driver), but prejudices engendered by our interests are not easily disposed of." This was in 1876, and now by comparison Hyderabad is the most peaceful city in India. One does not hear of the armed dacoities that are of almost daily occurrence round about Calcutta, Dacca, and other capital cities of India, not to speak of the recent dacoities in New Delhi.

enquiries, direct to this place, and standing at the gate of the house, called out to the Hakim Sahib. A young man, of a brown complexion and of middle height, with cloth round his loins, and with a black handkerchief wrapped round his head, came out. After greeting him I handed him the letter.

He read it over, and then said that his brother, Syed Ali Raza, was absent for a time, that he himself was Syed Ali's younger brother, and that his name was Mohamed Raza.

He intimated that his brother's house was then vacant, and that I could occupy it until his brother returned, when I could remove into another one. Being tired out with my journey, I was thankful to him for this, and occupied the house.

From the start to the finish, of my journey, nine or ten months had elapsed. I left Lucknow in May, 1872, and reached Hyderabad during the early part of the year 1873.

My late uncle (on whom be peace!) had given me two letters: one was addressed to Nawab Mukhtar-ul-Mulk, the Prime Minister, and the other to Raja Kundasawmy, who was the great Minister's chief attendant.

ATTEMPT TO GAIN AN INTERVIEW WITH THE MINISTER.—

Hakim Ali Raza remained away for several months, and I continued to live in his house. These brothers were the sons of Hakim Niyaz Ali, who was the staff Physician of the Royal Household. He was a resident of Darayaganj, Delhi, and my cousin and he were great friends. During the Mutiny, Hakim Niyaz Ali was sent to the gallows by order of Metcalfe, and these two brothers, with a nephew and niece, fled from Delhi, and sought an asylum at Hyderabad. On their arrival there, they gave out that their niece was a princess, and they wished to make her enter the harem of Nawab Afzul-ud-Dowla Bahadur, the ruler of the Deccan.

In those days Noor-ud-din-Shah Kadri, a resident of the Punjab, was the Pir of the Deccan Ruler, and His Highness had so much regard for him, that he used to send him baskets full of gold and jewellery; and it was widely known that at one time His

Highness presented him with his own elephant, with the State Howdah, with yellow trappings. Nawab Mukhtar-ul-Mulk then informed the Shah Sahib that the howdah, with the Royal yellow colour carried with it the insignia of Royalty, and that all loyal subjects were bound to salute it, and that if the Shah Sahib was agreeable to his doing so, he would go to salute it. The Shah Sahib having understood the significance of this, immediately returned the Ambari.

During this reign the City contained a very large number of Darweshes with strange names. As for instance "Dungi Shah," and "Nakki Shah." These men led a life of ease and luxury, and had their vakils at the palace, who in their turn had become wealthy. But the most influential of the Pirs was Hazrut Nur-ud-din Shah Kadri. He was a very lean and weak old man, of over eighty years of age with a wrinkled face and fleshless bones. Hakim Raza Ali tried to gain his object through this gentleman, but, instead of his niece going into the harem, the Pir became infatuated with her good looks and married her himself. The result of it all was that a Mansab of Rs.200 per mensem was conferred on the brother of this lady, through the Pir's Sahib efforts: and likewise her two uncles received a Mansab of Rs.100 and Rs.40 respectively. Henceforth they lived in comfort. I gave Mohamed Raza Rs.25 to provide meals twice a day for myself and Ghansi Khan. The Hakim's mouth watered at this and he began to address me as the Nawab Sahib. His wife also sent word to me that I should not think of removing to another house, and that she would look to our comfort. I rested for two or three days, and then, putting on my best clothes, called on Raja Kundasawmy.

This man was a contractor of the P.W.D. in the beginning, ,and was of Telegu nationality. Tall and exceedingly black—in fact, blacker than even the blackest negro—he had thick lips, and long ears in which he wore small ear-rings. His appearance invited laughter, and he conversed confusedly, but all the same he was the special favourite of the Minister for the reason that the Resident favoured him, and that he, the Prime Minister, wanted someone, who, while not possessing either much ability or capacity to intrigue or pervert facts, knew English, and would be a sort of intermediary (vakil) between the Resident and himself. Kundasawmy knew sufficient English for the purpose, but not a word of Persian or Arabic; and he knew only sufficient Telegu to carry on his work as a contractor. His ugly countenance was enough to frighten a Rustum,* but as he was the pet of the Resident, he was useful to Nawab Mukhtar-ul-Mulk.

However, making enquiries as to his whereabouts, I went in the morning, on foot, and presented myself before him. His house a really palatial building, was situated in a well-watered and well-kept garden; and the upper storey was well-furnished, with costly furniture, chandeliers and mirrors. At that particular time a number of palanquins, carriages and horses were standing close to the stairs leading into the house, from which I conjectured that this was perhaps the time for him to give audience. I climbed the stairs without hindrance, and in one of the rooms, found Rajah Kundasawmy seated like a Mahadeo on a sofa. And there were several people sitting in front of him, on chairs, as if in a durbar.

I raised my hand to my forehead, and sat down. He then asked me where I had come from, and I stood up and handed him my uncle's letter; informing him at the same time that I had also brought a letter to the Nawab Sahib. He replied that he would speak to him on some occasion, as the Nawab Sahib had no leisure now-a-days. His formal reply was such as to make me return home greatly disappointed, but I continued to attend his durbar every week for a fortnight.

The next man who could claim as much influence with the Minister, as Rajah Kundasawmy, was his contemporary Amin-ud-din Khan. The latter's father had removed from Alwar during the Mutiny, to Hyderabad. A very able and experienced man, and one who had spent much of his time in the society of the learned and the nobility, he managed to attain such an influential position in the durbar, that he far exceeded all the Madrassi, Hindu, Muslim, Parsee and Hyderabadee officials, in gaining the favour of the Minister, and was in all administrative matters considered to be his right-hand man.

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* *Rustum.*—(*Rustam*).—The name of a celebrated warrior; hence a term applied to a hero in general.

In view of his increasing influence, his remorseless opponents, without letting the grass grow under their feet, got him out of the way by giving him poison. He fell a martyr to their machinations ; and the grateful Minister then took his two sons into his favour, and lavished honour on them.

Amin-ud-din Khan introduced a large number of Delhi people into Hyderabad—for instance, Inayat-ur-Rahman Khan, Hidayat Ullah Khan, and others—and also some Oudh people—especially the learned men of Kakori—and through his influence they were appointed to honourable posts. Consequently the Madrassis and the Parsees had begun to lose ground.

A man by the name of Rahim Baksh, a servant of the King of Delhi and a friend of my father-in-law's cousin, Nawab Moinuddin Hassan Khan, having returned from Mecca, came to reside at Hyderabad. He opened a tin-merchants shop at Patterghatti, and that became a meeting-place for the Hindustani element serving and carrying on business in the various offices of the Government. These men, clerks, pleaders, etc., used to rest awhile in his shop, while going and returning to their respective avocations.

This man, Rahim Baksh, visited me, and having spoken to me about Moulvi Amin-ud-din Khan, and also about my relationship to Bakshi Inamullah Khan—he was my maternal uncle—he then suggested that I should send to the latter for a letter of introduction from him to the former ; and I agreed to do this.

I duly received the letter, and taking Rahim Baksh with me, I called on Moulvi Amin-ud-din Khan. At the gate of his house a large number of conveyances and horses, were standing. As I entered the gate I saw a verandah with a lofty basement, and those who had come to see the Moulvi had all assembled in this basement. At the gate itself there was a long big room. After a little while the Moulvi descended from this room and came into where people were awaiting his presence. They all stood up and, bowing low, saluted him. I also stood up. He saw me, and, passing, sat close to me with his legs folded under him.

He was a man of middle-height without moustaches, and with the hair of his head falling right down to his ears. He wore a dress which was neither an Ungarka nor

Achkan nor Sherwani, but it fell below the knees, and was buttoned from his throat right down to below the waist. His head-dress was of the same material.

He did not speak a word to anybody, and after sitting for about 10 or 15 minutes, stood up, and then those who were present, saluted him and went out. I also went away with Rahim Baksh.

I continued to interview the Moulvi thus on every Friday for several months, but could find no way of gaining my object.

One day I received a letter from my uncle, Mirza Abbas Baig in which two other letters were enclosed. One was addressed from England, by General Barrow, to the great Minister, and the other was addressed to Mr. Trevor, the First Assistant Resident at Hyderabad, by Mr. Browning who was then Director of Public Instruction in the Province of Oudh. Taking this latter letter I called on Mr. Trevor. He called me in and very courteously gave me a chair and enquired regarding some facts connected with my family and education. He then gave me a letter to the Prime Minister, and said that whenever I wished I could see him. I thanked him for this, and returned home glad.

My anxiety now, however, was to find some means of gaining an audience of the Minister and presenting this letter to him. It was rumoured that unless one possessed influence, one could not approach the Minister for years together.

I used also to call on Shah Nuruddin Kadri, but he had become wealthy, and remained a derwesh only in name. He remained aloof from Government officials and I found no opportunity to speak to him, because his saintly arrogance had made him very proud. His nephew, Rahimuddin Kadri, was a tall Punjabi youth, who spoke the Punjabi language, dressed like a Punjabi, and was very polite. The uncle and nephew, however, never could agree, and the former had selected his younger brother-in-law's son to take his place after him. But his Vakil, Mirza Gazanfer Beg, had managed to ingratiate himself with Moulvi Amin-ud-din Khan, and used to get things done for the Shah Sahib, with a great show of loyalty and faithfulness. He was, however, a cunning sycophant, and a partisan of the Shah Sahib's nephew.

I was young and inexperienced, and proud of my family traditions, and had been educated and brought up in a lordly style; and having on two occasions waited in vain for an audience, I was dismally disappointed; and, my nature revolting, I made up my mind to go away and seek my fortune elsewhere. I did not care to be a burden on the generosity of my uncle any longer.

At last I thought of consulting the poetical works of Hafiz, and lo, this couplet came to view :—

> " I should not be surprised if I secured a central seat in Ghazal writing, because I have served the lord of Poesy for years together."

After reading this couplet I felt somewhat consoled.

A gentleman by the name of Syed Anwar Ali, lived in this Mohalla. He was serving in the Secretariat office of Moulvi Amin-ud-din Khan, and he used to come every night to me, and read out the elegies which he was accustomed to compose. He was a pupil of " Dabir," and was very humorous. Apart from poetry, he laid claims to proficiency in the art of soldiering.

One night, finding me rather anxious, he enquired the reason for it, and sending for a pot full of water, asked me to get it placed in the court-yard, adding, " After having a wash, I will take the ' Istakara ' (divination) for you.

He did so, and then said, " You will not require an intermediary, but can see the Diwan "—(Prime Minister), —" on any day you go," and he dissuaded me from my intention of going elsewhere. I remained silent.

I often sat outside the door of my house after " Assur," prayers on a bench right on the road, and at such times I used to see a person* wearing only a loin cloth, and carrying a thick stick in his hand, jumping about and cantering along towards the road leading to the city. He would soon afterwards return from the direction of the Poorana Pool (the old Bridge), drunk with " Sendhee,"* with the saliva trickling from his lips, and escorted by a crowd of street-urchins.

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* Sufi (Majzub). It must, however, be explained that there are two classes of the professedly devout Sufis, viz., the " Sahlik " and the " Majzub." The true Sahlik Sufis are those who give up the world and its allurements, devote themselves entirely to their Creator, and are insensible to any other enjoyments but such as they derive from their devotional exercises. The Majzub Sufis have no established homes or earthly possessions. " Majzub " in its literal sense means abstracted. Many people suppose this class have lost possession of their reason, and make excuse for their departure from the law on that score; both classes, nevertheless, are held in great respect, because the latter are not deemed guilty of breaking the law since they are supposed to be insensible to their actions while indulging in things forbidden.

One day, on his returning from the Old Bridge he came straight towards me, and snatching my hookah (pipe) drew a long breath and puffed it out towards the sky Having done so, gambolling and cantering, he proceeded further with the same escort of urchins, while I called for my servant and had the mouthpiece of the " hookah " washed.

When however, I found that this gentleman began to treat me similarly every day, I took my seat inside the gate ; but then he commenced to come in, too ; and one day, after snatching my hookah again, and drawing in the smoke, he said, looking into my eyes, " They are calling you, and you won't go." Having said this he went his way. I looked into the house, but there was no one there.

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* P. Sylvestris, Roxb ; F.B.I. VI-425. Brandis, " Ind. Trees," 644. Gamble, " Ind. Timbers," 731 Vern Khajur, *Sendhi* ; the wild date Palm.

An erect, diœcious palm, common all over India, wild or cultivated, and regarded by Gamble and other authorities as " certainly indigenous." It is found throughout the dominions, sometimes occupying large areas, and forming a gregarious forest growth, in moist ground—usually along the banks of rivers and the beds of streams and watercourses.

The chief product is the sap, or toddy, for which it is universally tapped, and which is a source of considerable revenue to the Government. The process of tapping consists in removing the lowest sheaths of the leaves, and cutting a notch into the trunk, and then a thin slice is taken off daily from the surface of the cut. A small pot is tied below to catch the flow of sap, which is either made into fermented liquor, or, to a very limited extent, boiled down into sugar.

As fresh notches are cut in the trunk, on opposite sides, at intervals, the tapped trees assume a curious zigzag appearance, and are short and stunted in growth. When not interfered with, the tree grows tall and straight up to 40 or 50 feet, and from 1 to 2 feet in girth.

The wood is a light brown colour, the outer cylinder being hard and rough, and the inner soft. Its weight is about 36 pounds per c. ft. It is sometimes used for rough building, in the construction of temporary dams, bridges and piers ; and the trunks, freed from the inner pith, make excellent water-conduits.

The leaves are extensively used for brooms, and also for plaiting into mats, ropes and baskets. The fruit is eaten, but it is of very poor quality. The tree flowers from January to February, and the fruit ripens in June.

Toddy is largely consumed in the Telingana Districts, where the two kinds of toddy plants (Borassus flabelliges and Phoenix Sylvestris) are cultivated. In the Mahratta districts the palm is rare, and the people use Mahua liquor in the city and suburbs and some of the district head-quarters.

When the incident was repeated again the next day, I remained very anxious throughout the night, and at last decided to give a trial to the the Mir Sahib's divination I again consulted Hafiz, and this couplet was the result :—

> " If, like Hafiz, I take the route leading out of the forest, it may as well be that I accompany the Lord Asaf."

and the verse gave me such courage, that I made up my mind to make a trial of my fortune.

I got up in the early hours of the morning (about 4 a.m.), washed myself, said my prayers, dressed, and put a turban on my head; and then, having put on a " Choga " (overcoat), for it was the beginning of the cold season, I got on my pony,(I had sold my horse).

Just when I got outside the gate of the house I saw a sweeper-woman using her broom, and I felt more encouraged.

At sunrise I arrived at the palace, and without much ado entered the gate. The sentry on guard did not stop me. I saw a hall facing me, and I went up there. In the verandah a few people were sitting in a circle, smoking the " hookah," and without ceremony I made room for myself and sat down too, and when the " hookah " was sent round I also had a puff at it. At this the man sitting close to me enquired who I was ; and when I had informed him of my intention, he looked hard at me, and said, " Strange, nobody stopped you," and asked me whether that was the time to seek an interview or salute the Minister—" We," he went on, " who belong to the Cavalry Guard, however, are able to salute him when the curtain is raised from the upper storey, at a much later hour. The Nawab Sahib then takes our salute." And he advised me to get away from the place, or, better still, to go away, and return at some other time and try to gain an interview.

Just then, as I was going away, a man, turbaned and belted, came out of a room, and seeing me, hastily asked who I was, and why I had gone there at that time. I replied that the First Assistant Saheb had sent me. " What name was that ? " he exclaimed in astonishment ; and he then went forward and stood before the curtain. The men of the Cavalry Guard also stood in a line, thinking that probably the Nawab Sahib had already made his appearance. I took my stand behind a pillar.

In the meanwhile several chobdars arrived and seeing me, stared at me ; and my friend the Cavalryman approached me, and said in a friendly manner that I had better retire, or the " Chobdars " would turn me out by force—" or," he added, " promise them some ' Bakshish ' to allow you to remain.

I accordingly asked him to bring one of the chobdars to me, and the latter perceiving a B.G. rupee in his hands, told me that this was neither the time for the salaam or an interview, and that I had better go to one side and sit down. The head Chobdar, Fakir Mohamed, would be coming, he told me, and perhaps he might be able to give me advice in the matter. For an interview, he added, the strongest possible influence was required.

So I took my seat in a corner of the room, and watched the people who came and went.

After a great delay, the same chobdar came to me and said that Fakir Mohamed had not come that day, but his son was there, and that I had better see him.

I met this man and showed him Mr. Trevor's letter, but he replied in a harsh tone, " You have lost your senses. We are not the post office to carry letters. You had better find one of the ' durbaries ' for this purpose."

I replied that if he took my letter, I would serve him gladly (i.e. I would remunerate him for his trouble ; and on hearing this, he became somewhat reasonable, and enquired what I would give him. I mentioned the figure Rs.50 ; and then taking the letter and rising, he said, " Remain sitting I will soon return."

He disappeared upstairs, and I remained expectant till about nine or ten o'clock.

At last I enquired of the same Chobdar, as to where his vagera (headman) had gone, and requesting him to get me some information, promised him ten rupees for his trouble.

Having heard this he followed the " Vagera " upstairs, and brought him back, and the latter said, " The Nawab Sahib read your letter, and has ordered your presence at one o'clock." He then asked me for his remuneration, and I requested him to accompany me as far as Pattargatti, where he would get his money. But he could not come, and asked me to take the same chobdar along with me.

So, accompanied by the latter, I betook myself to Rahim Baksh's shop, and asked him to give me Rs.50 at any cost. The chobdar then demanded his share, and I told him that I should be back at one o'clock, and would give it him then. But he said he would not be there, another would have taken his place, and at that I promised to remember to bring the money for both of them. And he went away pleased.

I then sent for some food from the bazaar, and, having eaten it, sat looking at the equipages of the nobility and Jemadars passing to and fro, till one o'clock.

At one o'clock I returned to the same room, and the chobdar having brought the " Vagera " over to me, I accompanied him upstairs.

The first room I was taken to, was furnished with a carpet, over which was drawn white cloth, and in the centre there was a " Masnad," with a covering ; but from this room the " Vagera " took me into another, where a few persons were sitting in the expectation of an interview. There he made me sit down, and betook himself into an inner chamber. He returned almost immediately and said, "Get up! You are commanded to appear in the presence."

The moment I entered the third room, I saw a few paces in front of me a Masnad, on which the Nawab Sahib was sitting with great dignity. In this posture he appeared tall and broad-chested. He was fair-complexioned, and was wearing a " jamawar " sherwanee," and on his head an embroidered cap. A lot of papers were lying before the Masnad, and he was holding several other papers and a pencil in his hand.

At the moment of my presentation the " Vagera " called out. " Salute with reverence and in proper order " ; and I immediately bowed and salaamed in the Hindustanee fashion. Then the " Vagera," catching hold of my hand, took me close up to the Masnad, and I, placing Rs.5 on my handkerchief, presented my Nazzar*.

Smilingly the Nawab Sahib lifted the rupees and ordered me to sit down, and then, placing his papers aside, he turned to me and enquired my name.

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* *Nazzar.*—An old custom of presenting small sums of money in gold or silver as a sign of homage.

I stood up and presented my late uncle's letter, and he, having read it, looked very kindly on me and enquired how long I had been in Hyderabad. He heard what I had to say, and then questioned me why I had delayed so long in coming to him, stating that no one was prevented from approaching him. " Well." he added, " you may continue to come to me without hesitation." After that he put several questions about my late uncle and my education.

He remained conversing with me for a quarter of an hour, and then the servant who carried the scent-box brought it over to me. I stood up and took a little scent, and then, after saluting the Nawab Sahib, moved backwards, facing him, and so out of the room, quite glad and happy at the result.

I was therefore, the more upset when the Vagera informed me that a second interview with the Nawab Sahib was an impossibility, as those who came there for the " Salaam " had a day appointed for them—" but for you," he said, no such order was given." " But on my promising to pay him another Rs.50 as 'Bakshish,' he went inside, and returning, informed me that Wednesday, at eight a.m., was fixed for my salutation, and he congratulated me on the fact that the time fixed for me was at an hour when there would be present important noblemen who were connected with His Highness's palace. In fine, with my presentation at the Durbar, my probationary period commenced.

A short account of the city and its citizens, the nobility and the officials of the State, will not be out of place here.

At this time the adminstration of Nawab Mukhtar-ul-Mulk, Shuja-ud-dowla Salar Jung Mir Turab Ali Khan Bahadur, was at its zenith. His daily routine was this. After a wash and necessary toilet, he used to say his morning prayers and recite the Koran. He then received the salutation of the servants and guards and other officials of his palace. He would make his appearance on the upper verandah, whilst these men would stand in a line in the court-yard below, and, on the head chobdar giving a warning sound, bow and touch their foreheads three times with the right hand. After taking the usual morning salutation, the Nawab Sahib would go down to the garden where Tippu Khan and other rough-riders would be present, leading horses for his own use, and several spare ones for his Staff. At this time a few of his favourite companions dressed in long Dakhani "Angarakkas" and Madrassi tail-coats, and fully belted and turbaned, would be present; and occasionally his two sons would also accompany him. If any fortunate aspirant managed to be present there through the good offices of any one of the staff, he would then get an opportunity of presenting his petition to His Excellency. Sometimes the Nawab Sahib went out riding outside the City, towards Sarurnagar; but in any case he would return at about sunrise, and take his seat on the Masnad in the gallery.

His dress was simple. He used to wear a long Persian coat of Jamawar (Cashmere), of different shades of colours. It had a close collar (sherwani) and hung below the knees. He wore a double-chained watch, and a gold-embroidered cap of the Bhokara or Samarkand type; and he often wore white pyjamas (trousers).

He was tall of stature and broad in the chest; and while his beard was shaved and his hair closely cropped, he had long moustaches.

He was of brown colour, and on his broad face there shone the prestige and dignity of his position.

When he visited the Resident, or nobles equal to his rank, he used to put on his turban; and when he presented himself at the Royal Palace, he used to wear Jama-Neema (a special durbari costume in use in those days). He did not care to dress himself in English style.

Those who attended on him were dressed either in Dakhani fashion or in Madrassi clothes. The Hindustani servants, however, wore "sherwanis." All these used to be present on the days and at the hours appointed for them and for the salutation and granting of interviews separate rooms were allotted.

From morning till 12 o'clock at night, the nobles, the officers of the troops, the Officials of the Government, the Mansabdars of miscellaneous departments, and aspirants for offices or otherwise, came and went in one long stream; and to them an hour or half an hour was allotted, according to leisure. The same was the case with those in service in the districts and talukas, who called on the Minister at the regular time and hour appointed for them. If any one of these visited the palace on a day or at a time not appointed for him, Fakir Mohamed, the " Vagera," would not announce him.

This man, Fakir Mohamed, was of a black complexion, had a small beard, and was almost doubled with age. He wore the turban of his office and carried a staff in his hand. With the exception of Government officials, he ruled others despotically, and looked after the arrangements of the Palace rigorously. If those attending the palace sat improperly or did anything irregular, it was Fakir Mohamed who with a loud voice, corrected him. He would not hesitate even to use his staff. One day Rafik Yar-ud-dowlah, an eminent officer of Irregular Troops, and a Jagirdar to boot, who attended with me, on a particular day and hour, for some reason or other, took his turban off his head, and immediately Fakir Mohamed, with his staff raised, approached the gentleman's bald head and warned him that this was the Minister's palace and not his grandmother's house. A gentleman once presented a written complaint against this man, and His Excellency wrote a reply to the effect that if the gentleman did not consider his durbar good enough for him, then he had better not take the trouble to attend on him.

The Minister accepted the " Eed " and the " Nowroz " Nazzars at these durbars, and the money so collected, which in fact, amounted to a large sum, was considered to be the Minister's. The Nawab Sahib never sat in these durbars for more than 10 minutes.

The whole city, with its roads and by-lanes, with the exception of the route from Pattergatti to the main gate of the Palace, was paved with broad slabs of granite. The lanes and the streets were very narrow and in a very filthy state, so much so, that the lane leading to the Royal Stabling Yard was known as " Muthri Galli " (the Urinating lane), and the road that led from the main gate of the palace to the Minister's residence, and thence to Chadarghat, was fit for horse and carriage traffic only.

There is a story told about the filthiness of the City. The Minister wished to put the city in a sanitary condition, but his rivals, among whom the names of Moulvi Mahmood and Akbar Ali were included, and who enjoyed the confidence of Nawab Vikar-ul-Umra, Rashid-ud-din Khan, represented to His Highness, Afzal-ud-Dowla (of heavenly abode), that this disloyal Minister was clearing the roads with a view to pave the way for the visit of the British inside the City. On this an order prohibiting the repairs of the road and sanitation of the city was issued.

On the occasions of the anniversaries of the Saints (Urus) and " Eed," festivals or marriages, and other allied entertainments, the people cooked a special dish which they called " Biryanee " (rice, meat and spices, cooked together). And in truth, no better dish is cooked anywhere throughout India.

Bedsteads were not in existence then, and even the highest nobles slept on a bedding on the ground ; and a story used to go round that in Hyderabad, only one in a hundred had escaped scorpion sting.

As for the literacy of the generality of the inhabitants, they used to get their letters written by other persons, who formed a community of their own for this purpose. The language of the people was a type of antiquated Urdu. The whole of the city possessed one poet whose poetical pseudonym was " Faiz." I happen to remember one line (" Misra ") of his :—

> " He became uncontrollable, and I also divested myself of my clothes."

This was the condition of the Mussulmans of the City. As for the Hindus, the " Kyasts," and the Brahmins, the former to a greater, and the latter to a lesser extent, were versed in accounts. The distinction was due to the fact that the Mussulmans were either professional soldiers, or were employed in the Regular Troops, or received mansabs or allowances.

It used to appear to me as if I had come into an encampment, especially when I happened to sit at Rahim Baksh's shop. I used to see a kaleidoscopic scene before me, with the lesser noblemen and Officers of the Irregular Troops, going to and fro to the Minister's Palace, in their conveyances, escorted by their retainers, with great pomp and grandeur. But the most interesting sight was seen on the 5th. of Mohurrum, on which day the Minister's palace was specially decorated for the entertainment of the British Officers. From the early hours of the morning the Irregular Troops, the Paigah Troops, the Sarf-i-Khas and the Peshkar's Troops, in their varied uniforms old and new, marched past; the Jemadars, bedecked with jewels, dressed in variegated and bright colours with the paraphernalia of rank followed; while the Arabs with drawn swords, firing their matchlocks, came dancing along to the tunes of their national music, followed by the stalwart braves of the African Cavalry Guard and Myseram Regiment, in their picturesque costume with bag-pipes discoursing martial music. And then after these, came the Regular Troops under the command of Colonel Neville, with English bands playing delightful music. This martial host filed past, one troop following another, saluting the Dewan and the English guests, after which they marched to the residence of the Peshkar, via the old palace. Thence they proceeded to the Panch Mahal Palace, to salute His Highness, the Nizam; and then, doubling back to Char Minar*, dispersed to their various cantonments.

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* *Char Minar.*—In the very heart of the city, denoting the intersection of four main streets, rises the Char Minar ("Four Minarets"), the work of Mohamed Kuli Kutb Shahi (1591). The forefronts are broken by long lines of windows and the Minarets, which are 180 feet high, and spring from the abutments of open arches facing the cardinal points, are not very top-heavy—the main fault of Hyderabad mosque architecture in general, whilst the strangulated dome too much resembles the onion.

During the occupation of the Moghuls one of the minarets was struck by lightning, and its reconstruction cost Rs. 60,000.

M. Bussy, the French General, and his troops occupied the Char Minar in 1756; and the building was thoroughly renovated by Sir Salar Jung a few years before his death.

The block to the South-West, with the upper lattice windows, is occupied with the palace of His Highness; and the Sepoy guard, with the quaint chimney-pot shakos, whose topknot is split in two, dating from the days of the old Jack Sepoy and the French officer, reminds us of the last century.

Close to it is the Mecca Musjid, built about A.D. 1600, by the same King. The date of its completion is A.H. 1023, as is known by the words, "Baytul-Atik" (Kaaba). The height above the ground is 108 feet, and the cost computed at 33 lakhs. It is 225 feet long and 180 feet broad, and occupies a paved quadrangle 360 feet square. It is built entirely of stone, and fifteen arches support the roof, which is surmounted by two large domes; and it can accommodate 10,000 worshippers. Mohamed Kuli Kutb Shah did not live to see its completion, but after his death its construction was continued by Abul Hassan, and finally completed by Aurungzeb. Hyderabad may well be proud of her Jaama.

A marked feature in Hyderabad is the "Tak" or "Kamaan," that takes the place of the triumphant gate. It is a pointed arch,

This wonderful "Tamasha" (the well-known Lungar* procession), maintained the glory and dignity of the state

with horizontal coping and side windows, which, towering above the lower tenements, crosses a thoroughfare; it relieves the mournful aspect and forms a resting-place for the eye. The Royal founder directed the four main bazaars to be fronted by as many elevated arches—the Char Kamaan.

I may here also refer to the "Gulzar House," formerly known as the Chaharsu-ka-Hauz. It is a pretty cistern up the main street, leading to the Char Minar, and forms the centre of the Char Kamaan alluded to above.

The reign of the present Nizam, His Exalted Highness Mir Osman Ali Khan will ever be remembered as is that of Emperor Shah Jehan, for the construction of splendid buildings and beautiful fairy-like parks along the banks of the River Musi. The High Court is housed in an imposing building entirely of stone (granite) and surmounted with splendid domes and spires. The Osmania General Hospital opposite lends enchantment to the view. The City Improvement Trust is busy in evolving a thoroughly modern metropolis with broad paved roads and pavements, electrically lighted in the night, lined on either side with shops especially designed to enhance the beauty of the main thoroughfare.

* *Lungur.*—The Lungur is a festival peculiar to Hyderabad, and though it is usually celebrated on the 5th of Mohurrum each year, it is in no way connected with it. A short account of its origin may perhaps be not uninteresting. About 300 years ago the young Sultan, Abdulla Kutb Shah, was out for an evening ride on an elephant, which was newly caught and not quite trained for use. Suddenly, to the consternation of the Sultan's attendants, the elephant disappeared, and—as was afterwards discovered—took the nearest road to the jungles. The mother of Abdulla Kutb Shah, distracted by grief and the dread that something evil might befall him, made a vow that, should the elephant safely bring back her son, she would cause a golden "lungur" or chain to be made, which she would place on the elephant's neck, and then take him in procession to the Hussainee Alum, a shrine where standards consecrated to the martyrs of Kerbella are housed. And from the 1st to the 10th of Mohurrum, each year, they are ceremoniously placed in the "Big Hall," where people congregate in their thousands to offer their "Mannuts" (vows) to the Saints. This place is within the city wall, close to the Afzul Ganj Bridge.

It is said that after a month and three days, and during the month of Mohurrum, the elephant returned, and restored the young prince to the arms of the sorrowing mother; and this lady, in fulfilment of her vow, ordered a chain of gold, 384 ounces in weight, to be made. This was then put round the elephant's neck, and the animal, forming part of a grand procession, was taken to the Hussainee Alum, where the chain was broken into pieces and distributed amongst the poor. This incident is celebrated annually, though latterly it has been much shorn of its former pomp and grandeur.

and caused much astonishment to the British who were invited to see it. They felt that the nineteenth century had not yet arrived, and that they were still in the times of Akbar and Aurangzeb. The grandeur of this wonderful sight remained untarnished during the lifetime of this Minister, and perhaps to some extent to the times of Maharajah Narinder Pershad; but during the regime of Nawab Laik Ali Khan, much of its glory was lost, and after him, the candle, which was flickering went out. And during the Premiership of Sir Asman Jah and Sir Vikar-ul-Umra, the nineteenth century coloured the scene mainly through Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Vikar-ul-Mulk—that is to say, the gorgeous past gave place to the prosaic style of the present century.*

So far as the administration of the State was concerned, this far-sighted Minister had bound himself to follow certain well-defined rules.

Every servant of the State, high or low, could approach him in person, and was free to place his requests before him; the Persian language was, as far as possible made the medium of instruction; and the scions of the nobility were given instruction in methods of practical administration. In pursuance of this object, the oldest amongst them, like Bashir-ud-dowlah, Mukram-ud-dowlah Shamsher Jung and Mir Yavar Ali Khan, were appointed Assistant Ministers, with the designation of Sadr-ul-maham and as these gentlemen were not very experienced, able secretaries were given them.

Then, with the exception of the higher Revenue officials, who were called Sadr-Talukdars, the rest of the servants in the administration were not allowed to draw more than five hundred rupees salary, and none of them, whether high or low, were given the power of dismissal, promotion or reduction, although they could make a recommendation in this connexion; and with the exception of friendly and private correspondence, which was in English, in all administrative affairs communications with the Resident were made in the Persian language. For the ordinary private and friendly correspondence, an English office was kept, under the charge of two Madrassi copyists, and Mr. Bowen, an Anglo-Indian who was also called the private Secretary. This office was mainly concerned with such matters as requests for elephants, horses and carriages, with making appointments for interviews or issuing invitations for banquets, etc., and with giving permission for "shikar": but it had nothing to do with administrative affairs.

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* *Mohurrum.*—The manner of its celebration and the events which led to the assassination of Imam Hussan, the beloved grandson of the Holy Prophet, and the present-day observances are so fully described by Mrs. Meer Hassan Ally's "Observation of the Mussulmans of India, descriptive of their Manners, Customs, Habits and Religious Opinions," that I need not recapitulate them here.—*Vide* pages 6, 17, 25, 32, 51 and 53.

The Persian dafter was called the Dafter-a-Mulki (Home Affairs), and Munshi Mohamed Siddeek was its secretary. He could write Persian prose exceedingly well, and was a straight-forward religious man, and charitable to those who came into contact with him. He had daily interviews with the Minister. Perfectly content with his pay and prospects, treachery and intrigue never entered into his mind nor did he interfere with things foreign to his department

It is an astonishing fact that nearly all the officials of the Executive branch possessed similar qualities of head and heart. None of these intrigued, interfered, or, for the sake of procuring promotion, used their influence improperly. They looked only to the Minister and wished to secure his approbation in their work; and this sagacious Minister met them with such encouraging politeness, that they, always respectful, were at ease in their conduct and free in their speech. And some of them, like Syed Saad-ud-din, Moulvi Shaik Ahmed, and Darogah Abdul Wahab, and, above all, Raza Ali, who used to attend fully turbaned and belted, in the mornings instead of intriguing used to bring pleasure to the mind of the hard-worked Minister, by relating humourous stories, while remaining all the time respectful and dignified. With regard to the first named, Syed Saad-ud-din, one of his countrymen a Madrassi poet, composed a parody, of which I remember a couplet. It is this:—

> "From biting, snatching and falling on one's body, cat, dog and monkey have learnt these from you."

And the Nawab, thus finding relief, used to take part in this humour and hilarity. Occasionally, too, he got a similar opportunity while playing billiards.

However, the Mulki office was concerned with all correspondence relating to " Kharitas " between the ruler of the Deccan and the Viceroy, and also with all communications between the Prime Minister and the Resident.

All important political and ordinary affairs in relation to the British Contingent of Secunderabad, Bolarum and the Berars, and also all matters connected with civil, criminal and revenue cases between the subjects of the two governments were settled by Moulvi Aminuddin Khan, in consultation with the First Assistant Resident. But when Mr. Bowen died, and Mr. Oliphant became the Private Secretary, the latter had Mr. Syed Hussain Bilgrami to assist him. Then, so long as Mr. Oliphant remained with the Secretariat, some important matters between the two Governments were also made over to this office ; but the result of this was that Mr. Oliphant had to leave Hyderabad on short notice, nolens volens.—The reason for this will be mentioned later on.—In his place, Major Gough, who was Military Secretary, was appointed Private Secretary, on the recommendation of Captain Clerk.

In all important matters connected with the person of His Highness and the Royal palace, the opinion of Nawab Shamsul Umra Amir-o-Kabir Omdut-ul-Mulk was taken, Narsing Rao, an enlightened man of honourable character, playing the part of a vakil (intermediary) on behalf of the Amir-o-Kabir, and being daily in attendance on the Minister.

The personality of the Amir-o-Kabir was very popular in the Deccan, and the city people lovingly called him " Manjlay Mean." Well-versed in mathematics, he knew Arabic and Persian literature exceedingly well ; and he was so pleasant and polite, and so very generous, that, apart from his own servants of the Paigah, the city people high and low, worshipped him, and all the nobles, jemadars and mansabdars of the state bowed their heads in respect to him.

Another rule followed by this Minister, was that those of the nobles and other servants who served from father to son in the palace, were retained, so that they might not be deprived of their hereditary rights. No change was ever permitted in this.

Further, this Minister did not permit any interference in the management of the Royal palace, without consultation first with His Highness's grandmother; and he maintained that lady's prestige so well that in certain important political matters, he was able to protect himself from the unreasonable interference of the Resident, by the use of her ladyship's name.

He also took care that no European or Anglo-Indian servant of the Government should make himself free or behave impolitely in the Royal presence. Therefore, all such servants, with the exception of the Military officers, were allowed in the Royal Presence only with bared heads and shoes removed from the feet. In fact no European was allowed to sit; they made their requests standing and then retired. The Minister himself, never conversed with them in English. It is said, indeed, that he discussed political matters even with the Resident, in Urdu. He used to say that the Resident would get the upper hand of him in a discussion carried on in English, but in Urdu he would get an advantage over the Resident.

Since then I have myself conversed with Europeans in Urdu, and they, seeing me with a long beard and in old-fashioned clothes, never took me to be as one who knew English. Therefore my humble advice to His Highness, the late Mir Mahboob Ali Khan (of heavenly abode), was that in all important matters he should speak in Urdu, and simply say that he would think them over, and report his decision on them in writing.

Above all, the Minister was very particular that those of the servants whose domicile was outside the Deccan, should on no account have anything to do with his private affairs or with the Royal palace. He said that although the people of Madras, Hindustan, Bombay and other parts of India, are clever, experienced, and well-versed in various sciences, it was not in the nature of things, possible that they would have the same sympathy as those who, from father to son, were serving the State.

He wished to utilise the knowledge and experience of these outsiders in administrative matters only; and this rule was so strictly enforced, that no Dewani official was allowed to see the Resident or any other noble of the

Paigah, without special permission.—I will quote a couple of instances of this later on. I, the writer, was the only person who was exempt from this regulation, and of this also I shall speak in its proper place.

It would be more interesting to know that, so far as the Central Treasury and the Accountant-General's office were concerned, only Hindus, having members of families who have had connexion with the State for generations, were employed, and that no Madrassi or Hindustani official was appointed in these departments.

The accounts were kept as in ancient days for the Minister used to say that the English way of keeping accounts was not only complicated, but would also cause delay ; and that from the time of Akbar to the present time, the current system had been in vogue and was of so simple a nature that one could inspect accounts without loss of time.* The Hindus, especially the " Kyasths " † amongst them, were the people most competent to be entrusted with this responsibility.

It was the rule that every night at 12 o'clock, Pattapi Rama Rao, and before him his father, should present the register of the Central Treasury to His Excellency the Minister, who would put his signature to the last item on it. and, thus striking the balance between the expenditure and income would close the account for the day. His Excellency would then get into his night-clothes and retire for the night.—As ill luck would have it, the night when he fell ill never to rise again, he had signed the register and had retired as usual ; and before day-break the hand of death had snatched him away from us. As the poet has said :—

> " It would be long before the victorious firmament would produce a horseman of your calibre."

Every age has its own special characteristic. In one age men of lower capacity and of less sagacity are pitchforked into places of responsibility, to the detriment of the country and its people. And the prophecy made by our holy Prophet (peace be on him!) is increasingly evident to-day. In another age, men, although capable and clever, but who prefer to use their power to serve their own selfish ends and bring destruction on the country, are placed over the destiny of the people.

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* " It is partly due to the greater flexibility of the native system, which quality is often more profitable to the Exchequer than the rigidity of the British method."—" India in 1880," by Sir Richard Temple, Bart., p. 65.

† The " Kiyath " or " Kyasth " caste occurs chiefly in the Capital, but they are the " men of the pen " all over India. Subtle, clever, and intellectual, they are very ready in acquiring a knowledge of English ; and usually they have also a good knowledge of Persian.

They lay claim to be " Khatris," second only to the Brahmins, but they are actually classed with the Sudras, the lowest caste in the Hindu hegemony.

But sometimes it comes to pass that men of real worth and sound common sense are placed in commanding positions—men who use their power to make such rules and regulations as will conduce to the enhancement of the prestige and reputation of the country and to promote the well-being of its inhabitants. Such were the days when men like Sir T. Mahdeo Rao, Maharaja Jung Bahadur and Sir Salar Jung, were respectively ruling in Gwalior, Nepal and Hyderabad—men who were equal to those statesmen who left undying fame in Europe.

The Minister readily gave effect to the recommendations of the Resident and his First Assistant, as also to those of other British officers, but he was very chary of accepting any from the Government of India. It is well-known that when the Regular Force was formed, he selected Colonel Neville of his own accord, and appointed him Commander, but refused to accept the nominee of the Government. Likewise when the question of the education of his late Highness Sir Mir Mahbub Ali Khan arose, he sent for Captain John Clerk direct from England, and would not allow the Foreign Office to interfere improperly in the matter. Further, when Mr. Bowen, his former tutor died, he appointed Mr. Oliphant as his private secretary; and in posts where the appointment of Europeans was necessary and beneficial to the country, he invariably made his own selection.

But of all the rules that this Minister made it incumbent on himself to observe, the following was the most praiseworthy. The etiquette employed from the time of Akbar the Great to the days of Aurangzeb, the Puritan, was strictly enforced, and every man, whether high or low, was honoured according to his rank or status. The Minister had not only heard of it, but had seen it in practice, from the days of his childhood, under the loving care of his ancestors. To a visitor from outside, Hyderabad recalled memories of the times of Akbar and Alamgir.

I was reminded of the Andalusian story of Gil Blas, whenever I attended on His Excellency at his residence. I had read an English translation of this work. The ininteresting details of the Andalusian Minister's Palace and of the candidature of Gil Blas which the author gave, were portrayed vividly before my mind's eye. From the small hours of the morning to midnight, the hum and bustle in the palace beggars description. Apart from the guards who were posted on the wide court yard, throughout the night and day, the servants and officials of various departments came in their respective conveyances, such as palanquins, horses, and elephants, together with the escorts of retainers of the visiting noblemen. These were posted and parked outside.

In the interior the General Treasury and the office of the Accountant-General was located, and the hall opposite was reserved for chobdars, peons, and other menials.

The staircase led through this hall to the upper apartments of various dimensions, which were occupied by those who had to attend at their appointed time between morning and evening; and these, as I have mentioned before, were subject to the despotic discipline of Fakir Mohamed. In the Hall of Mirrors sat those of higher rank in expectation of an interview; in the gallery, the Secretaries and the heads of departments waited to be called to the presence of the Diwan; and then, still higher in rank, like the members of the nobility, Rao Ramba, Raja Shiv Raj, the Sadr-ul-Mahams, met the Minister by appointment. The learned men belonging to various religious denominations had also a special time to meet the Minister, and he used to leave the " Masnad," whenever these gentlemen called on him. In fact, for some of these according to their status, he went forward a few steps to receive them.

This great crowd including as it did men differing in status, position and dignity, attended the palace of the Minister, and all of them were there on business of some kind or other; and he, the Minister, met them smilingly so that they returned home, every one of them believing that he had been specially favoured. No greater compliment could be paid to the generous nature and extreme politeness of this eminent Prime Minister. I may here give three instances of his great courtesy.

A gentleman who had been in expectation of a post for a long time, approached the Minister's " Masnad," and read out a quatrain, of which I happen to remember a couplet :—

> " Don't enquire what I eat and drink ; I sit in the palanquin and drink the atmosphere."

Another gentleman at the " Eed " Durbar offered paper rupees as " Nazzar." The Nawab withdrew his hand at which the man said :—

> " Whatever I had brought from my home I had spent. As it is necessary for me to present my " Nazzar," I request you to accept this."

Another man had transferred his " Mansab "[*] to his children. After a short time he presented a petition, stating that, owing to his having done so, he was on the verge of starvation, and requesting that he might be given some support. It is a trite saying. " Fear the man who knows how to control his temper."

Although he was by nature credulous, the Minister was yet a lover of justice. Without enquiring into facts, he was chary of punishing, but nevertheless he was a great disciplinarian, and never spared the guilty, whom he destroyed root and branch. For instance, Ahmed Ali, son of Moulvi Akbar, was punished in such a manner that his name was quite obliterated. Likewise those who were responsible for creating mischief between the ruler and the Minister, as, for instance, Moulvi Mahmood and Akbar Ali, the protege of Mr. Tweedie, got their deserts. On the other hand, he was so appreciative, that he showered his favours without let or hindrance, as in the cases of Ghalib Jung, the Arab, Inayat Khan, the Pathan, and Tahniyath Yar-ud-dowla, who serving him, regardless of their lives, received titles, troops, the paraphernalia of office, Jagirs, and Mansabs. In short, he kept up the prestige and dignity of his office, and would not permit any Government servant or any of those who attended his durbar, to do anything derogatory to himself. Contrariwise he would show respect and honour to them according to their rank and status. Above all, he was very particular to maintain the dignity of the sovereign. So also was Shumshul-Umra, Amir-o-Kabir Omdut ul-Mulk, who laid great stress on this. On one occasion, a Mansabdar spoke of His Highness as a big child. The Minister became red in the face, and, in addition to inflicting a fine, he ordered the man not to attend the durbar again. Tahniyat Yavar-ud-dowlah and the Arzbejee (the Lord Chamberlain) were specially empowered to eject anyone, whether a nobleman or a commoner, from the royal palace, who happened to misbehave himself. In fine, the action and the character of this sagacious statesman were regulated according to rules and procedure then in vogue.

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[*] *Mansabdar.*—In Akbar's time there were 33 grades of official rank, and the officers were known as commanders of 10,000, commanders of 5,000 and so on Only princes of the blood royal were granted the commands of 7,000 and 10,000 The number of troopers actually provided by each officer, did not, however, correspond with the number indicated by his title. The graded officials were called Mansabdars, no clear distinction between civil and military duty being drawn.—(" The Emperor Akbar," by Count Vohn Noer Tr : by Annette S. Beveridge, Cal. 1890, Vol. I, page 267.)

In Hyderabad the Mansabdars now are said to be those persons who are in receipt of allowances more or less perpetual for past services rendered to the State. Since Sir George Casson-Walker's time, a reduction of 25 per cent. is made for every fresh grant made to the heirs of deceased mansabdars ; and in course of time this particular grant will disappear.

He was a connoisseur in the matter of food, and was very fond of delicious dishes, whether English, Moglai, Hindustani or Dakhani; and these were daily prepared for him. Darogh Abdul Wahab (Madrassi) was the manager of his kitchen. His invitations were occasional, and issued to a small number only—often to his special English friends, and usually to breakfast. But such dinners as he gave were marked with a pomp that astounded his guests. A table for his English guests was spread, and beautifully decorated, at which no fewer than 500 could sit; while a spread for his Indian guests was made ready in the opposite hall. The whole of the Baradari was beautifully lighted up, and from every tree and grass walk, lanterns threw rays of light. The Nawab Sahib would wait for his guests at the entrance. With the higher British officials he shook hands and bowed to others. The Indian gentlemen, with folded hands, saluted him, and passed on. After the reception ceremony, he sat with the Resident at the table. Mir Tahawar Ali, Darogah Abdul Wahab, and members of the staff, looked to the comfort of his Indian guests. All State officials and his personal acquaintances were invited to these functions; and I have often heard from English officials that even in Europe such elaborate banquets are not seen. At the time of departure the Minister would again go to the door, and, standing there, offer long scent-bottles—to some a dozen, to another ten, to another two, and to another one, according to rank—and bid his guests good-bye. At first I used to get two of these; but later they were increased to five, and finally to nine.

The management of his household was also admirable, and was not less praiseworthy than that of His Highness Asaf Jah (of heavenly abode), Every department of his household had a statement prepared of the monthly expenditure and not a rupee more than the fixed amount was expended.

The management of the palace (internal) was separate from that of the external. Sidee Ambar was the manager of that part of the palace which was distinct from the "Mahallat" (ladies' apartments), which was managed by His Excellency's mother herself. Also the department which the "Jaghirath" managed was separate from that of the troops which had to be maintained.

No state official was permitted to interfere in the Minister's household affairs; and although he was economical in matters affecting his person, yet he maintained the dignity of his position as the Prime Minister of the Dominions, and was generous in the extreme. This was the reason why he always found himself in debt. One day when I attended on him, I perceived a basket made of coco-nut leaves placed close to the "Masnad," which contained a few marble curios of Agra workmanship. Noticing signs of astonishment on my face, he smiled, and said that that was the fine which he had to pay for his position as Minister. An Englishman had come to see him, and had brought these curios as presents, and had then sent in a bill for Rs.5000. which he had to pay.

His Highness was in residence at the Golconda Fort, and according to the old age custom, the noblemen in attendance, together with their retainers, had accompanied him. His Excellency was also in waiting, and had put up in his ancestral house in the Fort. I attended on him at the appointed time, and noticed that the house was in a dilapidated condition and in want of repairs, I spoke to him on the subject. He asked where he was to get the money, for the Darogah (Manager) had put in an estimate of Rs.3000.

Here was a Minister whose prestige and dignity was well-known not only throughout India, but in almost all the countries of Europe. When this sagacious Minister travelled in India, the Resident himself was in attendance on him ; and His Excellency the Viceroy had issued orders that this dear guest of his should be received and entertained, and that no effort should be spared to that end. Later on, when he went on a tour to Europe, he was received by the King of Italy and His Holiness the Pope. He was similarly entertained in France, and the hospitality that he received in England was in no way less than that accorded to the Shah of Persia.

Much higher in rank, and with greater possessions in respect to Jaghir and Troops than His Excellency the Minister, was the nobleman, Nawab Shumshul Umra, Amir-o-Kabir, Omdut-ul-Mulk (alias " Manjlay Meah ") who was closely related to his Highness the Nizam. Although the Minister enforced the observance of ancient customs, yet as he came into contact with British officials, there was just a tinge of Anglicism in him. For instance, the Hall of Mirrors was decorated with a beautiful suite of furniture ; and at dinners to which British officials were invited, he sat and ate his food with them at the table ; and his relations, like Nizam Yar Jung, followed his lead. But at the Amir-o-Kabirs', English influence was not in the slightest degree noticeable although the Nawab had in his younger days travelled to Calcutta and had been the guest of the Viceroy there. On stepping into his palace, one felt that one had entered the times of Alumgir. Every servant of his, with the exception of Military officers, wore long Deccani Angarakkas (which costume resembled more or less a petticoat of the Victorian period) reaching to their ankles, and, belted and turbaned, carried a sword in the hand, and wore a dagger attached to the belt.

As the durbar was not customary with him, people could, if necessary, obtain an interview at any time ; and if there was no such necessity, then either in the morning or in the evening. He never invited any Britisher. In pursuance of the old-established custom which prevailed at the durbars of the Kings of Delhi, he shaved his beard, but in all other matters he was strictly orthodox. He never interfered in political affairs. If anyone had the misfortune to complain against the Minister, he used to get into a temper, being displeased. He was generous to a degree with the city people, whether poor or rich, and then felt ashamed because he could not do more. At the time of the " Eed festival," " Nowroz " and " Basant," and on sacred nights like " Barat," or at the anniversary of Saints, the celebrations at his palace, according to the family custom, were worth witnessing. The whole of the Staff, servants and officials and those of the Paigah were invited, and according to the family custom in vogue from the times of Tegh Jung (progenitor), he washed the hands of each of his guests and stood till the function was over. Really, as he was very aged, lean and weak, his nephews performed this duty on his behalf. He had two nephews, one, Motha Sham-ud-dowlah, born of a Negro Lady, and the other, Bashir-ud-Dowlah, born of a respectable lady of the Harem.

In the dominions of H.H. the Nizam there were five important Jaghirs (States). (1) Sarfikhas ; (2) Dewani ; (3) Peshkars ; (4) Paigah* ; (5) Samasthans. The last were tributary States, and their Rajas came into daily contact with the Prime Minister, and were considered independent in all other respects. The Paigah estate, in its entirety, was under its nobles, and the Prime Minister had no concern with it. In the early period of my service little more than half of the estate was with the late Omdut-ul-Mulk, the remainder being shared between Vikar-ul-Umra, Rashid-ud-din Khan, Mohta Sham-ud-dowlah, and Bashir-ud-dowlah. After the death of Mohta Sham-ud-dowlah, his share went to Bashir-ud-dowlah. When any of these gentlemen went out, people congregated to witness their equipages, as they made a sight not to be missed. Especially was this the case when Omdut-ul-Mulk visited the Resident, for then he took with him so many of his retainers, and that with such pomp and grandeur, that the band and the elephant carrying his flag, which formed the head of the procession, would arrive at the Residency Gate while the Nawab was just taking his seat in his palanquin at the gate of his palace. (The distance between the Nawab's palace and the Residency was about two miles).

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* *Paigah.*—The Jaghirs were assigned by a former Nizam to the first Shumsool Umra, for the maintenance of a body of horse called His Highness's Household Troops. The word " Paigah " means Stable. These lands still remain in the possession of the several members of the Shamsool Umra family, and the troops are divided among the three present heads of the house. No public information is obtainable as to the numbers and composition of the Paigah troops. The net yield of the Paigah Jaghirs, though originally something like 30 lakhs a year, has now almost doubled itself.

Raja Narinder Pershad*, the Peshkar (Clerk) of the State, was the grandson of Raja Chundoo Lall. The story of Raja Chandoo Lall has become famous, in that when he came from the Punjab to the Deccan, he was very poor ; and in those days the city people, whether rich or poor, were illiterate, as, with the exception of the profession of arms, they looked down with contempt on other professions and sciences, and only a few Kyasths and Brahmins could read and write. The Raja, in the days of his poverty, used to spread a cloth on the ground, near the Char Minar, and, sitting there with paper, pen and ink, wrote letters. He charged fees ranging from one anna to a rupee, according to the position in life of his clients ; and of whatever he thus acquired, he kept the little that was necessary for himself, and gave the rest in charity. Nawab Amir-i-Kabir came to know of him, and eventually employed him ; and he then gradually rose to such a position in the Paigah, that he administered the whole State. To be brief he was able to approach the person of His Highness, and was appointed the Peshkar of the State ; and then, very soon, he became the Minister of these Dominions with full powers.

Of all the nobles of the State, Raja Narinder was equal in learning to Omdut-ul-Mulk and Muktar-ul-Mulk himself. In fact, he excelled them in Arabic, besides being well versed in Sanskrit, Telugu and Marathi. And in generosity, he was not a whit behind his grandfather,

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* Born 25th Rabi-us-sani, 1254 H. Appointed Peshkar 20th Shaban, 1269 H. Appointed Prime Minister on the death of Salar Jung I till His Highness the late Nizam was installed by Lord Ripon, 30th Rabi-us-sani, 1301 H. Died in his 62nd year on 13th Ramzan, 1306 H.

Chundoo Lall. He was fond of the Fakr* and Mashiyaki (sacred orders), and was very much given to reciting the rosaries†; he said prayers too, in the Muslim fashion. He was a Unitarian, but in all other matters he observed Hindu customs. More facts about him will be mentioned later on.

Of those who attended the Royal palace, Tahinayat Yaver-ud-dowlah, an intermediary of State between the Ruler and the Minister (Vakil-a-Saltanat), was the most distinguished. Originally he was an ordinary "Mansabdar," but he discharged his duties with such distinction, that he gradually rose to the high position named. He was very sensible, far-sighted and loyal towards the persons of the Ruler and the Minister,

Nawab Rashid-ud-din Khan Vikar-ul-Umra,‡ was the younger brother (of a different mother) of Nawab Shumshul-Umra, Amir-i-Kabir Omdut-ul-Mulk. A bitter animosity existed between him and the Prime Minister; but the details of the matter are lengthy, and had better lie covered up, hidden from public gaze. Of middle-height, brown complexion, and slender proportions, and wearing a moustache that was turned up in such a fashion, that a lemon could be balanced on each end (à la kaiser), he was brave, soldierly and excitable. Illiterate, he was a man imbued with high ideals, and one who was always ready for action ; and like his elder brother, he was of a generous nature, and after doing anyone a good turn, he would feel ashamed that he did not do more. He got into temper easily, but was as easily prone to pardon. Accused persons escaping from the city jurisdiction, often took shelter in his palace, and remained there, secured from legal punishment. I shall mention the details of such cases in their proper places. The Resident would receive him at the end of the steps, and would take him along, hand in hand.

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* *Fakr* (*Fukar*) is another word for "Fana." The Prophet has said, "Fakr is my pride, and it is from me."—"Al Faqru Faqri wal Faqru Minni."—"Fakr" is therefore synonymous with "Fani," which means one who has attained "Fana," which, in its literal sense, is the state of a "Shay" (thing) that does not last; i.e., when permanence of the state comes to an end, it is said to have attained "Fana." "Fana" is not considered to be an attribute. It is not like a dissolution of sugar in water. The author of "Kushful-Mahjub," (page 262), thinks that it is not the disappearance of essence.

† *Rosaries.*—The belief in the efficacy of the "beads" seems to be common to nearly all faiths, for we find their use in connexion with prayer prevalent in countries of widely diverse character. The origin of the practice is not known, but the telling of the rosary is given a high place in worship. The beads forming the rosaries are made of many materials—glass, stone, coral, shells, bones, seeds, and fruits. Beads of all kinds are used by different sects. The rosaries are used in connexion with several important daily and annual ceremonies, specially among the Hindus. It is interesting to note that the Tibetans have adopted the number of 108 as their standard, and they say that the extra eight beads are added to make up for any omission owing to absent-mindedness or for the loss of beads through breakages. The Muslims have adopted the number of 100 as their standard. Instead of the rosary, they count up to one hundred on each finger of the right and left hands, marking off each ten on the joint of the fingers.

‡ Born 22nd Ramzan, 1230 H. Appointed Co-Regent 20th Ramzan, 1294 (11th October, 1877). Died 19th Zillada, 1299 H.

The Diwani portion of the dominions was administered internally, as well as externally, by the Diwan, that is to say, the Prime Minister. None of the servants of the State could take the liberty of visiting the Resident without the permission of the Minister, nor could they visit any of the Paigah noblemen Only a few of the specially selected officials of the State could attend His Highness, accompanied by the Vakil of the State, Tahinayat Yar-ud-dowlah, for presentation of " Nazzars." This was the reason why during his time the door of intrigue and conspiracy remained closed. The hopes and fears of the officials of the State were centred in the person of this sagacious Minister.

The management of the Sarfikhas Ilaqa was entrusted to a distinguished nobleman, who was honoured with a title and other paraphernalia of office, and whom His Highness selected from among his staff. The Diwani was distinct from the Sarfikhas.

It is a wonderful fact that the people of Hyderabad, whether high or low, were by nature so loyal to their Sovereign that they were prepared to lay down their lives, " in presentia " or " absentia," as if they considered him worthy of worship after God and his apostle. And the Hindu nobles and servants looked upon him as God and their " Avatar," (incarnation). No man, whether Madrassi, Parsi, English, or Hindustani, had the courage to mention His Highness's name discourteously.

Besides Tahinayat-Yar-ud-dowlah, there were other distinguished men, who attended the palace daily on behalf of the Minister and the Amir-i-Kabir. Of these Muiz-ud-din and Fasih-ud-din, attended on behalf of the Amir-i-Kabir, and Shasawar Jung, Mustakim Jung, and Ikram Jung, on behalf of the Minister.

Of those who held appointments in the palace, " Urzbegee " was the most distinguished. He was of so ugly an appearance, that if anybody happened to meet him in the dark, he would, even were he as brave as Rustom, be frightened out of his wits. After him came the Darogahs of various departments, like the Tosha-Khana, and Jawahir-Khana, whose appointments were hereditary in their respective families. It is not necessary to mention the lesser nobles and the jemadars name by name.

The city people, whether Hindu or Muslim, were similar in conduct and conversation and dress; and it was a wonderful fact that the Hindus and the Mussulmans lived side by side like sugar mixed in milk. The Hindus were appointed to the higher positions, and enjoyed " Mansabs " and Jagirs in the Diwani, Paigah and Sarfikhas portions of the Dominions ; and the Muslims were similarly employed in the Peshkari States and also by the Hindu nobility, like Raja Shivraj, etc. Members of the two communities jointly took part in each other's national and religious festivals. Persian was the written language and Deccani (antiquated Urdu) was the spoken one.

I would now briefly mention some facts about another distinguished nobleman, before I say anything further about myself. This nobleman was Nawab Khurshed Jah,* the eldest son of Nawab Vikar-ul-Umra Rashid-ud-din Khan, and eldest son-in-law of H.H. the Nawab Afzal-ud-dowlah Bahadur (of heavenly abode). Of middle height, fair and thickset, he was a handsome man of commanding aspect. In the lifetime of his father he had separated from him, with his share of the Paigah, and become independent of him. The reason for this was that his grandfather was very fond of him, and used to give him lakhs of rupees, jewellery, and lots of money, without the knowledge of his father, who became jealous of him. Moreover, His Highness also was very fond of him, and used to honour him with gifts of money and jewellery independently of his father ;

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* Born in 1257 H., died in 1320 H.

and when his younger brother Ekbal-ud-dowlah was born, unpleasantness between father and son increased. After Nawab Muktar-ul-Mulk, this distinguished nobleman was considered a capable administrator. He was clever in accounts, and could read and write Persian well. His palace, like his father's was a haven for criminals and accused persons. The Police and the Emissaries of the Judicial Departments could not enter it, nor was the order of the Minister carried out within the precincts of his jurisdiction. In other words, the area within his jurisdiction was considered an independent state in itself (" Imperium in imperio "). He had a separate stamp of his own, and his courts and police were also separately administered ; but the best quality that he had was that he was a worker, like the Prime Minister himself. His Coldawallahs (whip-men) had a special uniform, They held whips in their hands, and were so cheeky that they would respect nobody. The Prime Minister had kept a Mukhtar—who may be called an Ambassador—at the Durbar of this nobleman, through whom he could generally get the orders of the Civil Courts and the Police carried out in the area under him. Nawab Khurshed Jah, had a right to confer the titles of Khani and Bahaduri, and to grant Jagirs, which right was delegated to him by his Highness the Nizam. As he was the pet son-in-law, His Highness had conferred his own head-dress on him. The servants of his palace and the subjects of his Jagir were in a happy and prosperous state. The Governor-General of India used to meet him on an equal footing, while the Nawab, invited the British officers with as much pomp and grandeur as did the Prime Minister himself. But more about him later on, in its proper place.

FACTS CONNECTED WITH MY PROBATION.

Thanks to the generosity of my late uncle, this period of my life was spent in comfort. Every Wednesday I visited the Prime Minister, and on Fridays I called on Amin-ud-din Khan ; and on other week days I employed my time in prayers and religious recitations. Often I would meet Delhi people in employment here. Of these, Pirji Imdad Ali was a very learned man and of a religious turn of mind. He was serving in one of the offices, and occasionally read out the Masnavi to me. He was himself a poet, and he used to take me along with him to meet some of the Fakirs (saintly persons).

It is a trite saying, that a traveller on a visit to any city should get to know the Kotwal (Chief Commissioner of Police) and the Physician of the place. In pursuance of this principle, I often visited the Police Inspector of the Mohalla I was staying in during the afternoons. He was a scion of a noble family, pleasant and pleasure-seeking. He kept a mistress, whom he used to teach horsemanship. She was a young woman, but dark and ugly.

In like manner, I visited Huzrut Omar Ali Shah whom I came to know in this way. One moonlight night, when, about two o'clock, I was strolling quite alone, on the road in front of my house, I saw a man going along with a number of ducks towards the old bridge ; and when on enquiry in the morning, I learned that this gentleman was considered an angel of mercy by the townsfolk—that even men of the lowest castes, e.g. dhers and chammars, used to take him to their houses for healing the sick, and that he shared in every man's sorrow or joy—I had a great longing to meet him. I found him in a house, which though it had an ordinary tiled roof, was devoid of furniture. Instead, the sand of the river was spread on the ground ; and the gentleman was sitting resting his back against the wall. He was a very well-made man, with a long beard, and it appeared as if he were from Samarkhand or Bokhara, so huge and fresh did he look. From conversation I gathered that he was a Persian and Arabic scholar—and perhaps he knew Turkish also. He appeared to be well versed in philosophy, logic, hadis (traditions), and the religious law (" Fika "). His knowledge was also extensive in astronomy, mathematics, history and geography. His age appeared to be over sixty, and he had a large number of disciples ; but he never accepted any presents from them, and people wondered how he managed to pay his daily expenses. I acquired from him the science of " Isthakak," the principles of which are quite different from those of comparative philology. I also read with him a book of Arabic Literature which is called Hayat-ul-Hywan, which contained pleasant discourses on most of the known sciences. He was so contented that, although during the regime of His Highness Afzul-ud-dowlah, men of all sorts of religious pretensions had grown rich and had Jagirs conferred on them, he had never sought preferment; and he had never visited the house of a nobleman or well-to-do person, except on certain definite conditions, according to the sayings of the holy prophet. On one occasion a member of H.H. Afzul-ud-dowlah's harem who was a disciple of his, was taken ill with some severe disease, and he consented to heal her only on the condition that when he entered the Royal Mahal (Harem), no act against the religious law would be perpetrated during the time he remained there. It so happened that His Highness longing to meet him, visited the Royal Mahal (Harem) while he was there. The Shah Sahib stood up to honour him, but then, having said, " Peace be on you ! " (" Salam Alaikoum ! ") he sat down and added :

In these dominions, comparatively small as they are you occupy the position of the Amir of the Believers and Khalifa of the Mussulmans, and therefore it is incumbent on me to honour you. But beyond this, the facts about you do not entitle you to be honoured."

Having said this, he arose, and although His Highness tried to detain him, took his stick and walked quickly away, and without stopping anywhere on the way reached his house.

The Prime Minister, although of the Shiah persuasion, also wished to meet my friend, but the latter flatly refused to arrange a meeting. He used to say that the Minister, although loyal to the Sovereign and conscientious in his work, was still a " Ravzi " (a traducer of the four rightful Khalifs), and totally ignorant of the principles of Islamic Government, and that during his tenure of office he had brought about a great revolution based on wrong principles.

On one occasion His Excellency was on a visit to Sarurnagar*, when the Shah Sahib came on foot from Mustaidpura, to see me at a place where I was then putting up. In the afternoon when I went to see the Minister, incidentally a reference to the Shah Sahib was made in conversation. His Excellency, in a tone of wonder, said that the Shah Sahib was never known to visit anybody. I replied that he held me in much regard and affection, that when my son, Zoolcader, was born, he was present in my house and gave the name to him. Also that because I was his pupil, he visited me fortnightly or so—or, if he did not, I visited him ; and that whenever he entertained people to hear music, he would never permit me to be absent.

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* *Sarurnagar.*—The townlet forms the centre of the Nizam's preserves. Spotted deer and buck wander over the plain, as tame as sheep; and peafowl—very good eating during the first year—jungle-cocks, partridges and hare abound. Close to it we see the broad Madras highway winding over the Bund (Dyke) of Sarurnagar

His Excellency then told me that the Shah Sahib formerly held a distinguished post in the British Army, but that he resigned, and, giving away all his property, began to lead the life of an ascetic (fakir).—"He is very much displeased with me, but if he has such regard and affection for you, then bring about an interview with me."

I said that I could bring him over with me, but at that the Nawab Sahib smiled, and declared that he would never come, and that there was only one way of doing it. He would, while taking his morning recreation, suddenly drop in at my place, during the Shah Sahib's present visit to me, and that then the Shah Sahib would not be able to get away—provided, of course, that I made no mention of this to him.

However, when I returned, I thought anxiously about the matter, and finally decided, that though it would be possible for me to make amends for His Excellency's displeasure, there could be no remedy so far as the Shah Sahib was concerned, if he fell out with me. I therefore informed him of the Nawab's Sahib intention to visit him, and he at once got into a temper and said that he would never meet His Excellency. Then taking his stick, on which, because of old age, he leaned, he arose to go.

"Very well," I said, "if you go away, I resign my

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and damming up the precious element which all about Hyderabad is being preserved in vast reservoirs.

Also close to it is found General Raymond's grave, a full description of which is given by Captain Burton in his article published in the "Times of India," dated March 28th, 1876, together with descriptions of the tombs of the Golconda Kings and the Mir Alum Tank in which there is no repetition of what the ordinary guide books say of them.

appointment, because, in contravention of His Excellency's command, I have informed you of all the facts. And now I cannot show my face to the Minister, and the advantages I have secured through your prayers will now be lost,"

The Shah Sahib having heard this, seated himself, and said, " Resentment of the Dervish is on the Dervish," and that being a " Fakir," he had no further outlook on life, but to remain in certain expectation of that which was certain to come. As the poet Ghalib has put it :—

> " Troubles and tribulations are all over, O Ghalib ! The one thing that is left, is death that overtakes suddenly."

And he added that he was not certain what he might say if he met the Minister.

I replied that he should keep his temper in control, and only meet the Minister after morning prayers.

I then placed some chairs and got ready my turban and belt, in the expectation of the Nawab Sahib's visit.

Just then the Shah Sahib, leaning on his stick said that he would go for a stroll in the garden. He referred to one that was opposite to where I was putting up, and which had high walls all around it, and only one gate for both ingress and egress, I forget its name—perhaps it was Saida Bagh.

I saw him enter the garden, and just afterwards the Nawab Sahib galloped up.

I presented my Nuzur, which he accepted, and then asked where was the Shah Sahib. I replied that he had just that moment gone into the garden for a stroll, and that I would send for him. His Excellency then declared that perhaps I had informed him of the intended visit, and therefore he had disappeared, and with this His Excellency turned back. I then went to search for the Shah Sahib in the garden, but though I tried my best, I found no signs of him. Goodness only knows how he left the garden and reached my house in Chanchulgooda !

I used also to meet another gentleman in the city, whom Pirji Imdad Ali held in deep respect. His name was Mirza Sirdar Beg. Tall, and much advanced in age, he was so thin that he appeared a mere bag of bones ; and the deep yellow colour of his countenance betokened a man given up entirely to religious exercises and devotion. He lived by binding copies of the Koran. His brother, Mirza Shah Sowar Beg, was a wealthy nobleman of ancient lineage, possessing Jagirs and retainers.

Mirza Sirdar Beg had presented his share in the property to his brother, and became an ascetic (Dervish). He would not allow rich folk to approach him and was not inclined to make disciples for himself. He and Omar Ali Shah often met and conversed in secret, exchanging views on matters of deep religious significance.

My own Pir Syed Padsha Sahib Bokari* was at this time a city Magistrate, and after office hours he visited a Masoob Hazrat Gali Charwala,† in whose company he spent much of his time ; while he fasted in the day and devoted his nights to prayer.

I now received a letter from Mr. Syed Hussain Bilgrami asking me to get him to Hyderabad by any means in my power. He was one of the very few Muslims who held a literary degree—perhaps he was the only Muslim who in those days possessed it in Oudh or in the Punjab. He was, indeed, not a whit less in literary merit than most of his contemporaries—Bengali graduates—and therefore he was made much of by the community, and encouraged by the British officials. The influence and effect of the English education as imparted in Schools and Colleges, had already begun to be felt in India, and especially so in Bengal.

The Syed, in his younger days was proud of his education and knowledge, and freely gave expression to his views. He was disinclined to meet the British officials, and when he visited them, he had not the patience to wait in the verandah with the peons, till he was sent for. Then, when the lordly conduct of the British officers began to be commented on in such papers of the Indian Press as the "Hindu Patriot," the Syed also took up the cudgels on his countrymen's behalf, and, in incisive language, gave expression of his views of the swaggering behaviour of the Oudh officials ; and Sir John Cooper, who was in those days the Chief Commissioner, felt so displeased at the language employed, that it was all up with the Syed, so far as that province was concerned—I mean, the British officials there were ready to get him punished. He was therefore forced to leave Oudh, and in his anxiety he wrote to me.

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* "Pir" and "Murid" mean in Sufi phraseology, "master" and "disciple," respectively.

"Sahib" stands for "Mr."—a term of respect.

† "Masoob" in Sufism means a man whose mind is turned because of deep contemplation on religious matters.

"Hazrat" is a term of respect, meaning "presence."

Although I was not entitled to make requests, I, taking my courage in both hands, placed the Syed's letter before His Excellency, who, I knew, was a patron of letters. Having read it, His Excellency said, " He may come," and then relapsed into silence. But the final outcome of this was good.

I showed that letter also to Moulvi Amin-ud-din Khan, who, through his influence, had got his maternal uncle, Inayat-ur-Rahman Khan, appointed the Director of Public Instruction. This gentleman considered himself an English scholar—like the old proverb, " When they saw a camel in the village, they called aloud they had seen a God," but he was only superior in merit to the few Madrassis, who were employed in offices where the work in English was carried on by translators and clerks. However, in those days Amin-ud-din Khan was displeased with his uncle, and so he asked me whether Mr. Syed Hussain would rebel against his authority as Inayat-ur-Rahman Khan had done ; and then, accepting my assurance to the contrary, said, " Let the Syed write to me."

I informed Mr. Syed Hussain about this, and at the same time sent him a copy of a brochure in Arabic, which Amin-ud-din Khan had written in the scholarly style of Surat-ul-Rahman, on the law of Evidence (this as a hint to the Syed to compose his letter in a similar style).

In a few days the Syed's letter addressed to Amin-ud-din Khan arrived, and the latter then placed it before the Minister. His Excellency replied that he had already spoken to Agha Mirza Beg (myself), and he (Syed) might come, and that he would for the present draw Rs. 300 as salary, while as for the future, he must await events.

The Syed being in deep anxiety over Sir John Cooper's displeasure—the latter was ready to punish him—left Lucknow in haste ; and one day, when I returned from the city, I found him sitting on my bed. I immediately informed Amin-ud-din Khan of his arrival, and the Moulvi sent over for him and put him up in his own house. The next day he took him to the Nawab Sahib.

His Excellency, on the one hand, endowed with great politeness, and the Syed, on the other, possessing literary taste, they conversed with each other for a long time, and then the Nawab gave orders for the Syed to be put up in the Lakkercote palace, and to be provided with food twice daily from his kitchen. He also passed orders to the effect that until the Syed removed to another house and made arrangements for himself, he would draw Rs.300 monthly as salary, which would be increased to Rs.400 later on.

As his work, the Syed was appointed to write the history of the Minister's regime in Persian, and the work of " Wassaf " was given to him as a model to go by ; and thus he was placed on the horns of a dilemma, as he could hardly be expected to emulate the high-flown and flowery language of that famous historian without constantly consulting the Kamoos (a well-known Persian dictionary).

His Excellency then placed the Syed to act as Deputy to Mr. Bowen, his private Secretary ; and in this capacity my friend found an outlet for his abilities, and so distinguished himself that he was nominated, conjointly with Captain John Clerk, to teach His Highness English. But for some reason he was deprived of his post.

On the 15th of December, 1873, a short time before the arrival of the Syed, I received a docket from the Judicial Secretariat, to the effect that I was appointed to the Audit Branch of the P.W.D., and I was asked to report myself to Nawab Khadeer Jung for duty. This department had for its English branch, an Anglo-Indian, Mr. Grey, and for its Persian branch, Moulvi Hidayat Ullah Khan. These were called Superintendents. The latter was a maternal relation of mine, although I was not aware of it ; but both the Superintendents were very sympathetic towards me. I had no inclination towards Accounts, nor did I know the Persian figures, but as I was greatly in need of employment, and as I believed the offer of this post to be the order of the Minister, I was constrained to accept it. But later, on making enquiries, I came to know that the Nawab had no knowledge of it, and that it was Moulvi Hidayat Ullah Khan, acting on a hint from Amin-ud-din Khan, who had found this post for me.

In the meanwhile, General Barrow sent me a letter, addressed to the Nawab Sahib, from Scotland, in which he recommended me and said that I could translate well; and as Mr. Syed Hussain had also greatly praised my general knowledge and my proficiency in Urdu and English, the Nawab Sahib thereafter began to show greater regard for me. In short, I had been working in this department some two or three months, when I received a docket from the Revenue Office asking me to attend at the New Palace on a certain day to work with Mr. O'Connor. This gentleman had recently arrived from England, and had been appointed tutor to His Excellency's sons, having to assist him, an aged Bengali Mussalman, who had come under some domestic bereavement. Be that as it may, the tuition of these promising youths was entrusted to me. And here my college and school education did not stand me in good stead; but my general taste for reading came to my rescue. Mr. O'Connor was totally ignorant of Urdu, and as he was busy the whole time in entertaining his young and beautiful wife, the whole brunt of the tuition fell on my shoulders.

In those days a limited number of students attended the class—Laik Ali Khan and his younger brother, Saadat Ali Khan, the two sons of the Nawab Sahib; Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, His Excellency's brother-in-law; Mir Yavar Ali Khan, the son of the Nawab Sahib's sister and a younger brother of Hakim Baker Ali Khan; Mir Mohamed Ali; and the sons of Abdul Wahab Darogah. Rajah Kishen Pershad joined the school later on.

The two sons of Abdul Wahab Darogah were grown-up—perhaps between 25 and 30 years of age—and the sons of Mukaddam Jung, by name Mohamed and Suleman Yar Jung, were perhaps in their twentieth year.

There were also Suban Khan, the son of a Pathan Jemadar, and two brothers who were known as "Baday Agha" and "Chotay Agha" and perhaps one or two other students whose names I do not remember.

Laik Ali Khan and Saadat Ali Khan were known as "Baday Sahib" and "Chotay Sahib." They had long hair, plaited in Indian fashion, falling down to their waist, and they wore, with gold embroidered caps, the long "Deccani "Angarakkas."

Baday Sahib had a brown complexion, and was corpulent, while the Chotay Sahib, by contrast, was thin and lean, and of a dark complexion. The former was intelligent, strong of memory, courageous, and of high ideals; but Chotay Sahib was dull, weak of memory, and timid. Sarfaraz Hussain Khan was equal to Baday Sahib in intelligence, but only about equal in memory to Chotay Sahib, He was however, courageous. Mir Yavar Ali was less intelligent than Baday Sahib, but superior to all the others.

As for the other students, they were of ordinary intelligence.

Mr.O'Connor took up the brother of Baker Ali Khan and one of the sons of Abdul Wahab, and the rest were entrusted to me. And one day Mr. O'Connor gave over even these two pupils of his to me, and went away. As these two were grown-up and had sufficiently developed minds, Mr. O'Connor had difficulty in explaining things to them.

In the lesson one day, there was some mention made about the prophets of Israel. I gave their Arabic names, and, in a concise manner, explained the facts connected with them, at the same time telling the pupils about the early History of Andalusia. And so they came to look upon me as very learned and a man of extensive knowledge, and spoke very highly of my learning to the Nawab Sahib. On the other hand, I put the two sons of His Excellency together with Sarfarez Hussain, and Yavar Ali and the two Aghas, to a severe test, by teaching them geography and Elementary Mathematics as well. I also made a practice of sending a daily repor in English for the perusal of the Nawab Sahib.

When, in 1874, Lord Napier of Magdala paid a visit to the Prime Minister, he came into the class-room and asked the boys questions as to certain places marked on the map, and was very pleased with their answers. And now I began to gain distinction.

There is another incident I will relate. One day the sons of His Excellency and other boys consulted together, and became inattentive, and in spite of my warnings to the contrary, the time for their tuition was spent uselessly ; and so when, in due course, a maidservant of the Mahal came with the information that the Sirkar was at table and wished his sons to be sent at once, I refused point-blank to allow them to go. The servant reported the matter in my very words to the Nawab Sahib, and my attitude had a great effect on him.

When Mr. O'Connor left a Mr. Krohn took his place. The latter appointed a time for sports, and as he was an expert in Indian and English games, I became very intimate with him.

The kitchen of His Excellency made special arrangements for my food. In the morning I got tea, at noon lunch, and in the afternoon tea and fruits. I was supplied with these meals under special orders.

His Excellency himself began to look upon me with kindness and sympathy, and as for the students, they, in spite of my severity hung about me calling me "Hazrat, Hazrat!" *

At this time the Bismillah ceremony of His Highness Sir Mir Mahbub Ali Khan (of heavenly abode) came off, and Mohamed Zaman Khan,† a man of great erudition, independent character, and of the Sufi School, was appointed to give lessons in the Holy Koran. He was a man of saintly character and high ideals, who had given up worldly pleasures; and he met the Amir-i-Kabir and His Excellency the Minister, with the independence of a "Dervish."

However, I did duty for several months, and during this period, taking leave, I went to Delhi and got married, 26th July, 1874. On my return I heard that His Highness, Sir Mahbub Ali Khan,‡ was about to receive tuition in English, and that Mr. Syed Hussain Bilgrami was appointed to the post. The Syed had got his Durbari dress, the Neema Jama, ready for the purpose, and was expecting final orders. Mr. Saunders, the Resident, informed His Excellency that the Government of India would appoint an Englishman to the post, but the two well-known noblemen, that is to say, H.E. the Minister and the Nawab Amir-i-Kabir, would not consent to this, and they summoned

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* 10th Shaban, 1287 H.

† 7th Jamadi-ul-awal, 1288 H.

‡ His Highness Sir Mahbub Ali Khan was born on the 5th Rabi-us-sani, 1283 H. His Highness Nawab Afzul-ud-dowlah died on the 12th Zilkhaid, 1285 H (1869), when the former was 2 years and 6 months old. Mr. Saunders and the nobles placed him on the Masnad on the 16th Zilkaid, 1285 H.

Captain John Clerk*, who held an honourable post in the household of the Queen Empress, for this purpose. A few days before the Mohurrum, the Captain entered Hyderabad. He was well-entertained and a carriage and pair from the Royal Stud were sent for his use.

One day I was busy teaching in the class-room, at about nine or ten in the morning, when a servant came in and said that H.E. the Minister† wanted to see me. I had my ordinary clothes on, with only a turban, and was busy giving lessons, so I told the servant to present my respects to His Excellency, and inform him that I was wearing ordinary clothes, but that if he gave me time, I would, after finishing the lessons, put on my belt and attend upon him. The servant looked so surprised, that I enquired the reason for it, and he replied, " Do you know why you have been sent for ? —it would be more advisable to obey the command." Accordingly I left the lesson and rose to accompany him. He left me in the gallery and announced me and I was immediately summoned.

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* The education of the Nizam, who was left entirely to the care of his mother and grandmother, commenced in 1875. The tutors were placed under the control of Captain Clerk, who was appointed Superintendent of Education.

Captain John Clerk, late of the Rifle Brigade, and now Colonel and Equerry to the Duke of Edinburgh, arrived in 1875. Owing, however, to the sudden death of Mrs. Clerk, he resigned his appointment and was succeeded by his brother, Captain Claude Clerk, who arrived in Hyderabad in 1876. During the period between 1877-1881, His Highness's education was carried on with activity and earnestness.

On the occasion of the young prince having been declared heir to the throne, namely, on the 6th March, 1869, a regency consisting of Sir Salar Jung and the Amir-i-Kabir was formed for the administration of the affairs of the State, and for the purpose of training the young Nizam.

The 5th of February, 1884, will ever be remembered as a red-letter day in the annals of Hyderabad State, not only on account of the Installation of His Highness Sir Meer Mahboob Ali Khan Bahadur, but also as the first instance on record of a Viceroy and Governor-General having visited Hyderabad.—(From the " Memoirs and Correspondence of General J. S. Fraser," by his son, Col. Hastings Fraser, C.B.)

† Born on the 24th Jamadi-us-sani, 1244 H (1839). Appointed Prime Minister by H.H. Nasir-ud-dowlah on the 22nd Shaban, 1269 H (1853). Appointed Regent during the minority of H H. Mir Mahbub Ali Khan in 1269 (1853), died 29th Rabi-ul-awal, 1300 H (8th Feb., 1883.

His Excellency was sitting, with a pencil in his hand, on a couch surrounded with a heap of papers. A number of " bastas " (cloth-wrappers) full of papers were lying below the couch. He motioned me to sit on a chair, and placing the papers aside, turned towards me. He first conversed about his sons, and then said that Captain John Clerk wished to read Urdu with me and asked me to meet him, and to continue to go to him in my spare time. His Excellency intimated to me that Mr. Krohn had no objection to this.

I foolishly made two objections. First, that there would be interference with the study of His Excellency's sons, and, secondly, that I had not the capacity to teach old people.

The Nawab Sahib laughed at this, and changing the subject, asked whether I was of " Sunni " persuasion whether my uncle was a " Shiah," and what was the reason for this.

I answered that of all my family, my uncle alone was a Shiah and that because, in a dream, he saw a severed head hanging in a vessel, which asked him to love Ahlay-baith (on whom be peace !) and that several years afterwards, when he came to Lucknow from the Punjab, he imagined the head he had seen was similar to that of Mirza Dabir.

His Excellency then remarked that Mirza Ghalib was also a Shiah. I replied that he was half a Shiah, in the sense that he was a lover of the "Ahlay-baith," but that he had not embraced the Shiah religion.

After this His Excellency handed to me a closed envelope, and asked me not to attend the School in the afternoon, but to take the letter to the Captain.

Taking it, I rose to go, but then His Excellency asked me to stay a while, and proceeded to enquire whether I had any connection with the Kings of Delhi. I answered that my mother was the granddaughter of Shah Alum, but that we had now fallen from that state and were obliged to take service; and therefore, my grandfather, Mirza Jevan Beg Khan, and his brother Ashraf-ud-dowlah, son of Mirza Ashraf Beg Khan, were commanders of troops in the Royal Army.

His Excellency then said that my uncle Mirza Abbas Beg was a jagirdar in Oudh and a loyal servant of the Government.

I, in fact, could not understand the reason for these irrelevant questions on the Minister's part nor did I use my thoughts to unravel them; and I left his presence with a depressed heart, thinking how I should I be able to teach an old parrot like Captain John Clerk.

However, in obedience to the command I went over to the Captain. He was getting ready to go out. He at once sent for me to his room, and having read His Excellency's letter, appeared quite glad. He shook hands with me, and said that he was just then going out, and added, " You can come again in the morning, and bring some Urdu books with you." I replied that my morning time was taken up in the school. He sat down at this, and writing a letter to Mr. Krohn, gave it to me.

As I was about to leave him he stopped me again, and conversed with me on other topics before letting me go. On leaving him, I said that if he could send for me in the afternoon I could come with great satisfaction, and in the end it was agreed upon that I should go to him at any time that I could conveniently spare.

The next day, after having had my meals at the palace, I went over to him, direct from the School. He met me with great courtesy, and said that he was going to meet His Highness, and would like me to write a few sentences in the Roman character, so that he could commit them to memory; and he asked me, further, to bring an Urdu copy of the " Thousand and One Nights," as he wished to hear it read.

After this, he introduced me to his wife, who, I found, was Mr. Browning's widow, she having married again. She was very learned and a poetess.

In short, Captain Clerk used to get me to write Urdu sentences daily, and he only heard the translation of the " Thousand and One Nights " from me. I used to read out each line in Urdu, and then translate it to him.

When I visited him on the day of Ashura (tenth of Mohurrum) in the afternoon, he requested me to write facts about " Mohurrum." I said that it was a well-known historical event. He said that he did not care to read books and that he expected me to write about it as briefly as possible, and to bring it over early the next morning.

I returned home and wrote till about midnight, and had not finished my task before sleep had the best of me.

The next morning I took the incomplete and hurriedly written pages to the Captain and showed them to him, and expressed a wish to take them back with me, with a view to reviewing and " fair-copying " them ; but he took them from me, and said that he did not mind them as they were as he could read them. He then asked me to come on the following day, and without any idea of what was coming, I left him with an easy mind.

When I visited him the next morning, he had gone out for a drive, and as my papers were lying on his table, I took them up, with the idea of going over them. I then saw that on the corner of one of the pages the Captain had written that he had examined me orally and in writing, and that I was a competent man, and useful to him ; and just below this the Nawab Sahib had written that he had specially selected me and sent me over to him. Having read these endorsements, I placed the papers again on the table.

Just then the Captain returned from his drive, and greeted me very heartily with " How d'ye do ? " and then taking his seat, asked me whether I had seen the Nawab Sahib or not, and whether the latter had said anything to me. I replied that I had neither seen him nor had any conversation with him. Then he sat down and wrote a few lines and gave them to me, with the remark that I should see the Nawab Sahib at once.

I took the letter and went to the palace, although it was neither the day nor the hour appointed for me to see the Minister. But His Excellency saw me at once, and having spoken a few common-places, said that Captain Clerk was very pleased with me. I replied that being a servant of his (the Minister's) I was more concerned to secure his approbation rather than that of the Captain's and added that the Captain had neither read nor written but wasted his time in talking. I am not sure whether His Excellency heard my remarks or not, for he remained silent. After a few minutes, however, he said that he had to tell me a few things, but that being busy just then he would ask me to call again at 5 p.m. I saluted him and retired.

On reaching home, I found my mother busy with several pieces of cloth lying about her, and her foster-brother, Shujaat Beg, who had acquired proficiency in tailoring, cutting and measuring the same ; and when I asked the reason for this, my mother said that I had sent a message to the effect that I was to attend on His Highnesss the next day, and that I wished the Neema and the Jama (court dress) to be ready for me. I was astonished at this and denied having sent any such message But Saajid Beg and Wajid Beg, who were then about 5 and 6 years respectively, remarked, " Bai Abba "—(myself)—" a man riding on an elephant, passed this way, and said that we should have the Neema and Jama ready for you for your visit to His Highness to-morrow." (The Minister had sent the material and the message.)

However, I reached the palace punctually at 5 o'clock. I was then wearing a short Achkhan, the folds of which fell about my knees, with a turban on my head and a belt round my waist.

His Excellency smiled when he saw me, and intimated that Captain Clerk had selected me to act as his assistant, and asked me to accompany him to the Royal Palace.

I was struck dumb at this, and enquired the reason for the displeasure in relieving me of my present position and sending me to act as a clerk or translator under an Englishman, seeing that there were many servants who knew English, in the Government Service, who could well be sent to work with the Captain. I also suggested that the trouble I had taken with the Sahibzadas' (sons) education would be all in vain.

But the Nawab Sahib was rather astonished at the reply I gave him, and asking whether I had lost my reason, pointed out that the post for which I had been selected was one of such great importance, that one day, perhaps, he might be in need of my recommendation to His Highness. However, first asking me to go to Amir-i-Kabir forthwith, and on my way back to report myself again, he laughingly enquired what conveyance I had. I replied that I rode a black pony. He said that would not do, and sent an order to the Khansamah (Superintendent) through a palace servant, to get a palanquin ready for me, and also to send two harkaras (peons) to accompany me. Then summoning Narsing Rao, he ordered him to proceed, and inform the Nawab (Amir-i-Kabir) about this.

Turning to me, he said that Captain Clerk would also visit the palace for the first time, and therefore that I should present myself there in Court dress, and not in the clothes that I was wearing then, and suggesting that the dress could be got ready in a day, he wanted me to show myself to him before I went. As I had no idea that I should have to visit the Amir-i-Kabir, His Excellency gave me Rs.5 to present as a Nazzur to him, saying smilingly that he was advancing this money as a loan to me.

INTERVIEW WITH THE NAWAB AMIR-I-KABIR.

Taking my seat in the well-appointed palanquin, with the two harkaras (peons) proceeding in front, and a servant holding on to the sides of the palanquin, I went along in state through the very streets and bazaars through which I had walked on foot in search of employment. The time for the " Assur " prayer was almost coming to an end when I arrived at the palace, and the moment I stepped into the courtyard from the " palki " a tall heavily-built man, with a white beard and the long turban of the chobdars on his head, came forward and stood before me, He wore wrapped round his waist a band of cloth ten or twelve yards in length, into which he had stuck a dagger, and he carried a sword in his hand. He accosted me in a loud harsh voice, and asked what politeness was this to let the Nawab Sahib wait for me for so long a time. I said within myself, " The year that is good is known by the spring," and then blurted out a few excuses.

He took me towards the three-arched room, Two of the arches had curtains drawn down, and in a third, as I entered, I saw a very aged man. Clothed in a turban and jama, he looked wan, weak and ill ; but from his face shone the power and influence of nobility. I bowed and saluted him. He raised his hand to his head very courteously, and having smilingly accepted my " Nazzur " motioned me to take my seat near the Masnad. The room was a small one, and the carpet and its white coverings, were the only furniture behind the " Masnad," and a small almirah.

The gentleman who had accompanied me, also salaamed and sat down ; and Narsing Rao, being summoned, also came in.

The Nawab then enquired my name, and I replied " Your humble servant is known as Agha Mirza," Turning to Narsing Rao, the Nawab said that both " Agha " and " Mirza " were words denoting a distinguished family ; and then, having enquired about my education and bringing up, he asked me whether I knew Latin. I replied that Latin was not taught in any of the schools. He then asked whether I knew mathematics ; and I having replied that I knew sufficient for the purpose, he wanted to know what I meant by that. I pleaded that I knew as much as was required for the examination.

Having heard this, he remained silent for a short while, and then enquired about my religion and as to whether people here knew me. I said that, with the exception of Moulvi Amin-ud-din Khan, no one knew me, and that the same gentleman knew what religion I professed.

He remarked that there was no necessity for calling anybody to witness—" Your statement is enough."—and turning to Narsing Rao, said, " Tell Muktar-ul-mulk that I like this gentleman." Then addressing me again, he added, " May God Almighty bless the duties you are called upon to perform ! "

Upon this, Narsing Rao signed to me to present my " Nazzur " again ; but my pocket was empty. However, he placed the money in his handkerchief, and pushed it towards me. Amir-i-Kabir again smilingly accepted it, and then asked me to sit down, while he also sat up.

Then looking attentively on me, he said, " Are you aware to what responsible post you are appointed.* I'll call you to account on the day of judgment, if His Highness's religious and social thoughts are in any way affected."

To that I respectfully submitted that that responsibility could not fall on my shoulders, as I was but a subordinate servant and under the orders of himself and His Excellency the Minister, my only duty was to carry out orders, and that the right to control rested with those who had the power.

On my reply, a couple of tears dropped from those blessed and honoured eyes, and he said that a vision of a great revolution was already before his mind's eye. He had not many days to live, he went on, and he could not

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expect to witness the regime and the coming into power of his Highness.

But apart from that it did not fall to their lot to advise and represent matters to His Highness, as it did, to those who daily attended on his person. The latter were the people who looked after him. He did not know what effect the appointment of an English tutor and of English education would be upon His Highness, but Mukhtar-ul-Mulk was a wise and far-sighted man, and, in the words of Nasir-ud-dowlah, was a jewel that they had the good fortune to possess. However, it was not possible to stem the tide of English influence, and they could not say how the new generation which was rising after them, would being ignorant of their ancient ways and customs, play the game. But this much was necessary, that religious ideals should be maintained and the royal etiquette preserved, and should not be thrown aside like an old almanac.

Having said this, he ordered " Attar " to be presented, and changed the position of the pillows, and that being a sign that the interview had come to an end, I made my salutation and departed.

I went straight to His Excellency the Minister's palace. I first said my " Magrib " prayers, and being then summoned, I went before His Excellency, where I found Thaniyat Yar-ud-dowlah and his son, Mustakim Jung also in attendance.

MY FIRST INTERVIEW WITH HIS HIGHNESS.

On the next day, in the afternoon, I put on the Court dress (Jama, Neema, Turban and Belt) and proceeded to see the Minister. He laughed aloud on seeing me dressed in that fashion, and did not approve of its cut.

From there I went to the Royal Palace, where leaving my conveyance in the outer courtyard, and holding the folds of my Jama with care I passed through several other courtyards on foot, until I reached the " Kilvat " (Private Hall of audience), where I found Tahniyath Yar-ud-dowlah* and Mustakim Jung waiting for me. We said our " Assur " Prayers together, and then Tahniyath Yar-ud-dowlah left us, and went towards a small building called the Roshan bungalow.

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* Died 13th Zilhoj, 1307.

After a short while I was summoned to appear before His Highness. I found myself in a small " Dalan " (covered verandah), with a small courtyard in front. A " Masnad " was placed in the Dalan, and on that His Highness was sitting. He appeared to be about eight years of age. He had a gold embroidered cap on his head, and his hair, which he wore plaited in Indian Fashion, fell down to his waist. He was wearing a Deccani Angarakka (a loose garment falling down to the ankles). Two or three " Mamas " (female attendants), wrapped in snowy-white garments, stood behind him. Tahniyath Yar-ud-dowlah and his son Mustakim Jung sat with folded hands in front of the Masnad.

The first sentence which fell from His Highness's lips was " What is the English language like ? Let me hear it," I said " I pray for Your Highness's life and prosperity." Immediately afterwards he rose and went away.

From there I went direct to the Minister to present my " Nuzzar," and then by his orders, I called on Captain Clerk, whom I had not seen for two or three days. He met me warmly, and both he and his wife were amused when I related all the facts to them. They specially burst out in laughter at my appearance, dressed as I was in " Neema " and " Jama."

HIS HIGHNESS'S FIRST INTERVIEW WITH THE CAPTAIN, AND HIS FIRST LESSON.

Early the next morning, as arranged, I made haste to be at the Royal Palace. Getting down at the Buggy Khana (garage), I entered the Chow Mahalla Palace by the side entrance, at a building called Aftab Mahal (the Sun Palace, so called because of the paintings of that luminary on the ceiling). There I met Tahniyat Yar-ud-dowlah, Mustakim Jung, Akram Jung the Arz Begee,* and also Moizuddin and Fasihuddin, who had assembled there before me. On the ground floor I saw Hakim Baker Ali Khan, Masih-i-uduran Khan, and Drs. Mohd. Ashraf and Ghulam Dastagir, sitting on the carpet, spread on the ground ; and I shook hands with these.

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* Known as Ethasam-ud-dowlah, died 21st Safar, 1298 H. He was wounded by a man called Syed Munir.

Just then a scion of a noble family, very fair and inclined to corpulency, wearing Neema, Jama, and a Turban, to which a " Toora " was attached (a sign of distinction and worn only by those of royal blood), came on the scene. I was told that he was Zuffer Jung, a son of Khurshed Jah, who was to be His Highness's companion in his lessons.

At this very moment information was brought by a harkara (peon) that Captain Clerk was on his way to the palace, and had reached Char Minar ; and while Mustakim Jung rose and went to the gate to receive him, Tahniyat Yar-ud-dowlah ordered a chobdar to inform the palace people (the Zenana) to bring forth His Highness. And then Captain Clerk arrived and shook us all by the hand.

We were anxious that His Highness might not be overawed by his first meeting with an Englishman, but I satisfied His Excellency the Minister on this score ; and now, when, as his Highness arrived on a " Havadar " (an open palanquin), followed by several female attendants, Captain Clerk advanced to receive him, I stopped the latter.

A table and chairs were placed in a room on the right side of the palace, and there Captain Clerk and myself, together with Zuffer Jung and Mustakim Jung, took our seats, the others in attendance, including the " Mamas," going outside.

The countenance of His Highness did not show signs of fear, but he was evidently puzzled.

I now drew out two or three pictures from my pocket, and, placing them before His Highness, began to speak at random, and in such a manner that both His Highness, and Zuffer Jung began to laugh, I then, with the permission of Captain Clerk, said that His Highness might now retire.

Captain Clerk was very pleased with me, and took me along with him and Mustakim Jung. On our way we saw an open piece of ground called the place of " Kul Piran" (a place within the palace precincts, where the anniversary and Fatteha of the Saints was annually celebrated), and the Captain suggested that a lawn-tennis court might be made there. The Captain spoke in English, and I explained to Mustakim Jung in Urdu.

The next day I took a beautifully bound volume containing pictures of animals and short stories about them, and when we had taken our seats at the table, I opened the book at the page where the picture of a tiger was shown. I read out the English and explained it in Urdu, in my own inimitable style, and then, on a sign from the Captain I said that the work for the day was over and that His Highness could retire. We all left, glad at the turn matters had taken.

The day following I took a pencil and a slate. The work began by first reading out the stories and then placing the slate before them I purposely drew a defective picture of a tiger. Zuffer Jung objected, at which Mustakim Jung and Captain Clerk laughed ; and then His Highness, snatching the pencil from my hand, engaged himself in rectifying the defect in the picture. In three or four days we became free, and he as much at home with us as if we had known one another all our lives.

H.E. the Minister was so pleased with me, that he sent a watch and chain by Mustakim Jung to His Highness for the latter to make a present of it to me ; and Captain Clerk especially invited me to dine with him. Mr. Hussain Bilgrami and Mr. Riasat Ali were also invited from among the officials, together with Nizam Yar Jung and others from among the nobility. On this occasion I wore a head-gear (amama) in the Farukbad style at which the Syed called me a " cockney " ; and he was right, because my first big success had almost made me forget myself, and this remark of his awoke me to the reality. So I threw the amama aside and put on the turban as usual.

The next day, I began with the English alphabet, and established my prestige with His Highess by a show of temper towards Zuffer Jung.

After this, lessons were given in the following way :—Captain Clerk and myself sat at the table with His Highness, and Zuffer Jung, other attendants, spreading their carpets, sat in the courtyard on the ground floor of the palace.

A few days later, H.E. the Minister stopped my attendance on his sons, with the excuse that he would not take any work in a private capacity from those who were employed at the palace ; and then I got my dear cousin, Rafiuddin Beg, employed there. This fact displeased a man called Akbar Ali, whom Mr. Syed Hussain had helped, and who, in the early days, read with me for a short while at the Canning College This man (God have mercy on his soul !) laid the foundation of disagreement between Mr. Syed Hussain and myself, and involved me in such anxiety and trouble that I feel the effect of it right to the present day. The disagreement continued to increase, and several times my connexion with the palace was on the point of being severed ; but God (The Omnipotent !) protected me, and preserved me through His mercy from harm, without any effort on my part, and I am the only one of those who attended on His Highness, and in whose hands his education began and ended, on whom Royal favour continued to be shown. The other tutors joined me at intervals, and parted company before His Highness's education was over.

To establish my prestige, I had to resort to an old English device known as the " Whipping Boy." It was not possible for me to continue to threaten Zuffer Jung, who was a scion of a noble family and held a higher rank than most of the other nobles ; and to punish him was out of the question. It was therefore agreed upon that a few of the sons of the Mansabdars should be made to attend, and that they should be taught separately. In other words, a small school was to be started under my supervision ; and I selected Mirza Rafiuddin Beg to assist me in this work. Of the students I only remember the name of Mumtaz Ali, who now holds the title of Mumtaz Yar Jung, and is distinguished by being the son-in-law of Afsur-ul-Mulk. I admonished these boys in a loud tone, and often struck them with the cane twice or thrice.

At one period it was the general custom in Europe to employ " Whipping Boys," to control and discipline sons of Princely families. But the custom with the Kings of Delhi was just the opposite, and Mulla Jewan used to chastise Alumgir pitilessly.

The order of lessons now was, that English was taught from morning till noon ; then Zaman Khan (the Martyr) gave his lessons at fixed hours ; and in the afternoon Muzzafuruddin* the caligraphist gave exercises in handwriting.

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* Appointed 11th Jamadi-us-sani, 1288.

The martyred Moulvi was fond of friends, and those in need succeeded through his influence. Once he took a man, who, having left his native land, was in search of a living, to the Minister, and said " You are Mukhtar-ul-Mulk in both its esoteric and exoteric sense. I have brought a Mowhtaj-ul-Mulk to meet you " (the words " Mukhtar " and " Mowhtaj " are used to denote opposites, " Mukhtar" meaning one that has power, and " Mowhtaj," one that is in need) ; and the Nawab Sahib forthwith issued a decent Mansab (allowance) for the man.

I also had the good fortune to meet the Moulvi, for it was decided that, apart from lessons in the Holy Koran, lessons in Persian should also be given, and that from time to time, during my leisure, I should consult the Moulvi. He was of so saintly a character, that the city people were awed out of respect for and regard towards him, and students from all quarters flocked to acquire knowledge of logic, philosophy and traditions (of the Holy Prophet) at his feet.

The facts relating to his marytrdom are a strange story. Amongst the students was a young Pathan of Mahdevi persuasion (a sect differing from the Sunnis and Shiahs, in that they believe that Mahdi, the expected One had come and gone in the person of the founder of their sect), who was a disciple of Syed Nusrut, an Imam of the Mahdevi Pathans in Hyderabad. Now the Moulvi had written a voluminous work in contradiction of the Mahdevi religion, which had caused heart-burnings in that community ; and Syed Nusrut, their Imam, a man of learning, made preparations to compile a book as a reply to the Moulvi's and began to collect material in Arabic, for reference, from Bombay and Egypt. But quite suddenly the youthful student got into such religious frenzy, that he made up his mind to lay down his life. On that day, it is said, his mother bathed him, anointed his head, and passed " Surma " (antimony) through his eyelids ; and then, placing a garland of flowers round his neck and offering him a dagger, said to him, " Be a martyr and save us."

The brave youth arrived at his destination at a time when the Moulvi was busy reading the Holy Koran, after the Zohur (afternoon) prayers. The young fellow made two protestations—these are called Nafils, and are optional, as opposed to Furz, which are incumbent—and then going up to the Moulvi, quietly plunged the dagger into him with such force, that his heart and lungs were pierced through and through.*

H.E. the Minister was on a visit to the Viceroy at Calcutta at the time, and Nawab Mukram-ud-dowlah, his nephew, was acting as Deputy.

The city was convulsed at the news of this dastardly murder, but the youth made good his escape to Chunchulgooda (a mohalla exclusively inhabited by Mahdevi Pathans), and went to Syed Nusrut. The city people, however, especially the Mundozai Pathans (of Sunni persuasion) and the Arabs, made ready to avenge the murder, and the gates of the city were closed, and guns placed into position near Char Minar. But Mukram-ud-dowlah met the situation with courage, and promised the city people that on His Excellency's return the deed should be fully avenged ; and when the Minister came back, he passed orders prohibiting the entry of the Mahdevis into the city, and made Syed Nusrut a prisoner in his own house. The murderer was then sentenced to death, and he met his doom joyfully as a sacrifice to his religion. Only God knows whether he went straight into the arms of the Houris, or into the jaw of the fire-ejecting Dragon ; but he certainly inflicted a severe loss on me, in that I lost a friend in the person of the Moulvi, at whose hands I had received strong encouragement and support.

His younger brother, Masiuz Zaman Khan, was appointed in his place. I had worked with him at the Minister's, and here again I came into contact with him. On taking charge he began to find fault with his late brother's work, and in a short time was able to deprive Mustakim Jung of the management of the palace. He also took possession of all the departments, with the exception of the Garage and the Stables, and established his influence to such an extent, that even the Minister began to look askance as to his motives. He was so annoyed with me, that when we met in the palace, we saluted each other from a distance.

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* Murdered on the 6th Zilhaj, 1292 H.

ENTERTAINMENTS ACCORDING TO THE OLD STYLE.

In accordance with the old established customs of the Kings of Delhi, in the month of Safar (the 2nd of the lunar calendar) gold and silver rings were distributed. Raja Girdari Lal alias Bansi Raja sent me seven, and eleven to Istekam ud-dowlah Mustekil Jung Captain John Clerk Khan Bahadur, Commander of 500 cavalry, with a mansab of 7000. These were the titles conferred on Captain John Clerk.

In the month of Rajab (7th of the Calendar), I received in invitation through the Bansi Raja to attend the " Koonday " feast (Koonda is an earthenware vessel in which eatables are placed). This feast is celebrated in the month of Rajab, in honour of one of the Imams. I arrived at the Khilwat after Maghrib (sunset). The whole place, with its extensive open courtyard, was full to overflowing with guests. With the exception of the nobles of the highest rank, the whole of the gentry and the well-to-do citizens were honoured with an invitation to attend the feast. Perhaps an unfortunate one, here and there, was left out. The Khilwat was enclosed with Kannat.

His Highness, surrounded by his Staff, was seated on a raised platform, while in the covered verandah below, cloth was spread for the feast, on which large earthenware vessels and plates were arranged.

The guests would come in from outside, and, after partaking of the " Biryani " would mount by the staircase to the right, and then, passing along the foot of the platform, would stop awhile, salute, and then retire. Bansi Raja, in Court dress, with his family head-dress, and a belt round his waist, would be busy entertaining the guests.

The Raja, a fair-complexioned, beardless man of middle height, was corpulent ; but he was very active, and was a Persian poet of elegance and literary merit. The management of the palace rested on his shoulders, without anyone else to share his responsibility. He was a special henchman of the Minister, and looked after all the " Zenana " (internal) and the " Mardena " (external) affairs of the palace on festive occasions. He also made arrangements for the Durbars, both Moglai and English and in addition he was Serishtadar (Head-clerk) of the troops, and had under his control the Iron Foundry and other important departments.

He had a special regard for me, and in his spare hours we whiled away the time in reciting Persian poems. He wrote Persian, but could hardly write a couple of Urdu sentences, and considered it bad taste to do so. The same was the case in Delhi, up to the time of the Mutiny.

The Raja also tried to enforce the old customs and regulations in vogue at the Court of the Kings of Delhi, and handed down from the times of the First Asaf Jah*, and would not permit deviation from them. In consequence he came into collision with Masi-uz-Zaman Khan.

In Shab-e-Barat (corresponding to All Saints' day), I received fireworks from three or four places—from the palace through Mustakim Jung, H.E. the Minister, Nawab Amir-i-Kabir, and Kurshed Jah, as a special favour ; and likewise in Bakr-Eed, camel's flesh ; in Nowaz eggs ; and during the Mango season, mangoes.

The distribution on such occasions was made by the aforesaid Raja. A distinction with regard to these distributions was made in the case of those who attended in the Royal palace, and in the case of the Minister, and of the nobles of the Paigah and the Peshkar. And on some occasions a general distribution was made to all the servants of the palace and the Mansabdars without distinction ; especially was this the case in the mango season.

MY FIRST EXPERIENCE OF A MOGLAI DURBAR

The month of Ramzan was nearing its end and preparations were in progress to celebrate " Eed-ul-Fitr." In the times of the Kings of Delhi, a department to watch that nothing irreligious was done, was kept up in great state. The head of this department had entrusted to him the supervision of prices in the bazaar, and of weights and measures. Also immoralities of all kinds, such as gambling and drunkenness, eating and drinking in the month of Ramzan in the bazaars, and other licentious acts were suppressed by him.

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* The House of the Nizams was founded by Asaf Jah, who was appointed Viceroy of the Deccan in 1713, with the title of Nizamul-Mulk. He died in 1748. Nizam Ali Khan, his fourth son, was proclaimed Ruler in 1761. He died in 1803, and was succeeded by his son, Sikander Jah. On the latter's death in 1829, he was succeeded by Nasiruddowlah, who died in May, 1857, and was in turn succeeded by Afzulud Dowlah, who died in 1869.

On the Eed Day the Kazi drove out. The citizens dressed in their best, according to their means and their rank, would go in small crowds, riding on horses and elephants or in palanquins, accompanied with escorts and retainers, and with bands playing to the Eed Gah. The scene brings a vision of Islamic grandeur before the eyes, and makes amends for the sorrow felt at the licentious practices during the Mohurrum. The noblemen made preparations to hold the durbar, the well-to-do and the gentry of the place decorated and cleaned up their houses. The scents wafted their sweetness over the city; and Hindus and Mussulmans, bedecked in jewellery, clothed in raiment of different colours, and wearing turbans of different shapes and belts round their waist, were seen at every turn and corner of the city.

Then, when the guns were fired, and the prayers came to an end, the people returned to their houses, the Amirs made preparations to attend the Royal Durbar, and the city people made haste to attend on the Amir under whom they served. And as the matchlocks were fired in the streets and by-lanes of the City, the scene reminded me of Ghalib's poem. viz.,

> " It is the ' Eed ' The season of gaiety, gladness and frolic is general."

I thanked God that, after the destruction of Delhi, I lived to see this Islamic grandeur and power.

I also dressed myself in plain clothes of Neema and Jama, turban and belt, and proceeded towards the palace; and the streets were so crowded with conveyances, together with their escorts, that I was on the road for an hour instead of the usual 10 minutes. With great difficulty I reached the " Buggy Khana," and getting out of my palanquin I reached the " Khilwat," and then passed through Chowmahalla Palace* and the Rag Mala—(Glory and Power is with God).

The whole extensive maidan of the Khilwat, inside, as well as outside, was full of Mansabdars, Jemadars, the lesser nobility, the gentry, and the well-to-do of the City. The Khilwat was decorated and furnished in the old style with furniture, chandeliers and mirrors. In the outer " Dalan," just at the edge of the platform, a " Masnad " was placed, which had a covering over it, the latter being held down in its place by weights ; and in the next " dalan," a canopy of silk was drawn up and underneath it sat a few musicians, with their instruments.

Viewing these interesting sights I passed on to the " Roshun " bungalow.

His Highness came outside for a change of clothes. Tahniyat Yar-ud-dowlah, the Vakil of Riasat, Mustakim Jung, † the attendant, Ekram Jung, the Superintendent of the Sarfikhas Treasury, the Urzbegee, and Moizuddin and Fasihuddin, on behalf of Naib Shamshul Umra Amir-i-Kabir Bahadur, were present with folded hands. These looked on me with astonishment, and said that no tutor attended the Durbar for fear of lessening his prestige. I replied, " I am here because I have a great desire to see the ceremonies in connexion with the Royal Durbar."

At this juncture the " harkara " gave the information that the Dewan, riding on an elephant and seated in the Ambari (howdah), had approached, and then that the Amir-i-Kabir, seated in a " Bocha " (palanquin), had also arrived at the gate of the Royal Palace ; and in the same manner they announced the arrivals of the Peshkar, Vikar-ul-Umra, and other great noblemen.

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* The Nizam's Chowmahalla palace consists of three quadrangles, with handsome buildings on either side, and large cisterns in the centre. The palace is luxuriously and tastefully furnished, and the zenana or ladies' apartments lie beyond the third quadrangle.

There are other Royal residences, at Golconda, Sururnagar, Moula Ali, Asafnagar, Lingampalli, Malakpet. His Exalted Highness at present resides in the King Kothi Palace.

The Falaknuma palace was built by the late Sir Vikarul Umara at a cost, it is said, of 35 lakhs. It was purchased by His Highness, the late Nizam, in 1897. It is built on the summit of a neighbouring hill, from which the view of the city and the suburbs is most striking ; and no building in Hyderabad equals it in point either of architecture or design.

† Died 6th Rajab, 1318 H.

Mustakim Jung and Moizuddin Sahib dressed His Highness in his special costume, and proceeding via the Rag Mala, brought him to the Khilwat. Immediately a great clamour arose, that His Highness had arrived, and men seated far and near at once rose to their feet.

His Highness took his seat on the " Royal Masnad."

I stood in a corner and began to witness the scene. First of all, Nawab Shamshul Umra Amir-i-Kabir, Bahadur came to the Adab-Gah (the place appointed to offer salutation),and the chobdars cried aloud, " Eyes front, with respect and regard ! " At this, Nawab Amir-i-Kabir, with Mothesham-ud-Dowlah and Bashir-ud-dowlah bowing low, made seven salutations. After this, the chobdars holding the Nawab with their hands, led him to the platform, where he, saluting, sat down facing His Highness. Mothesham-ud-dowlah took his seat at the back, with the " Morchal " (Peacock Fan, a sign of Royalty).

Then the Diwan came to the spot from where salutations were being exchanged, and, likewise bowing low, paid his homage ; and, following him, every Amir of rank saluted in like fashion. The chobdars, holding their hands, led each Amir from the Adab-Gah to the edge of the Khilwat, to present his " Nuzzer " ; and afterwards, in obedience to the command each Amir was taken on to the platform of the Khilwat and made to take a seat facing the Royal Masnad. From the Adab-Gah to the Khilwat, the Durbaris flocked in great crowds ; but the chobdars plied them with sticks, and restored order. One or two sticks inadvertently touched the higher nobles ; and at this durbar, Mukram-ud-dowlah's dress was torn, while the Baday Sahib, i.e. Laik Ali Khan, the son of H.E. the Minister, was one of those who was struck with a stick.

Subsequently purses from every department were presented in Nuzzers. The Minister presented large purses on behalf of Government servants, Judicial Revenue, Police and Troops ; and every nobleman likewise presented the Nuzzer of his State, Now from every side the Durbaris made haste to present their nuzzers, and the Chobdars again began to ply their sticks to maintain order. When that had been done, Tahniyat Yar-ud-dowlah transplaced the pillows of the Masnad, as a sign that the durbar was over, and then the noblemen arose, and, making their salutations from the Adab-Gah, departed.

His Highness now returned to " Roshun " bungalow, where the attendants presented their Nuzzers.

And so the Eed Durbar came to an end ; and I having seen the sight returned pleased.

MY FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF AN ENGLISH DURBAR IN THE HOUSE OF THE NIZAM.

During the reign of H.H. Afzul-ud-dowlah, it was customary for the Resident to make a request through the Minister for an audience. On these occasions His Highness would take his seat on the " Masnad " ; the Resident, with his companions, would sit on the carpet to the right, bare-headed and without shoes ; and to the left the Diwan, the Peshkar, and other great nobles, would be seated.

When H.H. Afzul ud-dowlah passed away, and before the Resident could be informed Mukadam Jung, the Arab Jemadar, took possession of all the gates of the City, so that no Englishman, or anyone in their employ, could enter the City. Possibly this was done at the instance of the Diwan and the Amir-i-Kabir. In the meanwhile, the great nobles assembled at the palace, and making Sir Mahboob Ali Khan ascend the " Masnad," presented " Nuzzers " to him. Then, and then only, the gates of the city were opened. The Resident made a great fuss about this, but the thing was a *fait accompli*. Accordingly the Resident then became obstinate, and insisted that, since they had dispensed with his presence and advice, he would not take off his shoes, or attend the Durbar unless chairs were used. The Amir-i-Kabir and the Diwan were obliged to accede to these conditions, and from that date chairs were introduced into the Durbar.

At this time a " Kareeta "* from the Viceroy, addressed to the Ruler of the Deccan, was received, to the effect that the Prince of Wales, the Heir-apparent to the throne, was coming on a visit of travel and sight-seeing to Her Majesty's possessions in the East, and that all the Ruling Chiefs would be in Bombay on a certain day and date previously fixed, and that His Highness should also be there, to join in the welcome to be given to this honoured guest.

The two Governments had been in correspondence regarding this matter for some time past, and the language and tone employed by them was becoming unpleasant and painful. The discussion centred round the word " Suzerain." Mr. Oliphant, a former Editor of the " Times of India," and a man of exceptional literary attainments, with Mr. Syed Hussain, who had experience in journalism and was equal to Mr. Oliphant in merit, carried on the correspondence with such telling effect that men of lesser ability in the Foreign Office began to use threatening language. Their contention was in effect, this : " We are ruling in place of the kings of Delhi, and that treaties made in the past could not be made to fit in with the present conditions, and that these treaties cannot be used in argument against us." In other words, treating treaties " as scraps of paper "—according to modern phraseology—they ordered Mr. Saunders, the Resident, to invite the Nizam to Bombay in open Durbar, and it was for this purpose that a Durbar was now held.

The Captain and I reached the Palace early in the morning. Mustakim Jung, Tahniyat Yar-ud-dowlah, and others were already in the main hall of the Aftab Mahal Palace, and a gilt chair was placed in the middle.

Below the dais, to the right, a chair was placed for the Captain, and behind him, two other chairs, one for myself, and the other for the Moulvi. Lower down (in the same direction), other chairs were placed for the Resident and those who accompanied him.

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* A " Kharita " (or " Kareeta ") is a letter enclosed in a bag of rich brocade, which is contained in another of fine muslin. To the mouth, which is tied with a string of silk, hangs suspended the great seal, which is a flat mass of sealing wax, with the seal impressed on each side of it. This is the kind of letter which passes among princes of great rank in India, and between them and the public functionaries of government.

To the left, there were chairs for the Amir-i-Kabir, the Diwan, the Peshkar, and other nobles of rank. Raja Girdari Lall was seated lower down, with garlands of flowers, attardhans (scent-boxes) and pan* (betel-nut), arranged in trays.

His Highness was present in one of the rooms of the palace, in order to change his dress.

In the meanwhile the nobles began to arrive. The first to come was Amir-i-Kabir, suffering from a disease which eventually carried him off. He was supported by several of his retainers, and with great difficulty ascended the steps and sat down in a corner of the building. His Highness, playing about, came in and out of the room several times, and each time he appeared, the Amir-i-Kabir was assisted by his men to stand and again to sit down. To my misfortune, I went up to the Amir, and explained that His Highness was merely playing about, and therefore it was not necessary for him to take the trouble of standing each time. He looked at me with displeasure and said, " Praise God ! " you wish me to become disrespectful ! "

The Prime Minister and other nobles assembled in the Palace opposite.

When the harkaras (peons) announced that the Resident was about to leave the grounds of the Residency, Mustakim Jung and Moizuddin began to coax His Highness to put on his dress. Later it was announced that the Resident had reached Pather Gutti (a street so named because it was paved with large slabs of granite) ; and yet a little later it was made known that the Resident was now close on to the Char Minar—a beautiful structure of the time of the Kutb Shahi Kings, with four minarets. Upon this information, His Highness was made to occupy the chair on the " Dais," and the female attendants stood behind him.

The Moulvi and I took our seats at the back of the

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* *Pan.*—The leaf of " Piper Betel " handed to guests at ceremonial entertainments, along with the nut of areca catechu, made up in a packet of gold and silver leaf. It is a well-known Indian condiment.

Captain, who sat to the right of the Dais. On the left, Amir-i-Kabir occupied the first chair, the Prime Minister the next, and then followed Vikar-ul-Umra and the Peshkar, and other noblemen in order of precedence and rank.

The Minister, with the Urzbegee and other officials of the Palace, went as far as the entrance to receive the Resident, and then the Resident walked, hand in hand, with the Minister up to the steps of the palace, where Vikar-ul-Umra and the Peshkar were standing to receive him, and where first the former and then the latter embraced him. This ceremony was brought into vogue by Abul Fazl, during the reign of Akbar, in order that the Hindu and Muslim durbaris, by embracing each other, might promote feelings of love and brotherhood between the two communities.

The Resident was then led by the hand up to the Dais, where he first bade His Highness good morning, and then advanced to embrace the Amir-i-Kabir. He afterwards shook hands with Captain Clerk, and then he and those who accompanied him, including the surgeon and the Military officer in uniform, took their seats to the right according to rank.

The Resident, Mr. Saunders, having first enquired after His Highness's health, now presented the letter, which the Prime Minister, rising took and gave to the Munshi of the Durbar (generally a distinguished official was deputed to hold this post), who from the Adabgah read it out aloud.

It was the Resident's bad luck that he first spoke to Captain Clerk, in the hope of securing his support, saying that His Highness would not only get the benefit of the change, but would also enjoy the sights of Bombay. The Captain threw out his legs lengthwise and, pressing his back to the chair, straitened himself, and then replied nonchalantly, that the change and the enjoyment rested on one's free will and pleasure, and could not be forced.

Mr. Saunders was evidently much puzzled at the reply, but he then turned to His Highness, and said, in the hope of exciting his boyish curiosity, " Your Highness should see the sights of Bombay."

His Highness only looked blankly into his eyes, and remained silent, the Amir-i-Kabir then spoke. If force were meant to be used, he said, then they were ready to obey, but the ladies of the Harem, and especially His Highness's

grandmother, could not allow His Highness to be separated from them for a single day, let alone consenting to send him to Bombay.

The Resident put in that the ladies could accompany His Highness, to which the Peshkar courageously replied that His Highness's grandmother being old and infirm, could not undertake such a long journey.

Throughout the conversation the Prime Minister observed silence, but now he motioned to Raja Girdari Lall. to come forward at once with the " Pan Dhan," and then he garlanded the Resident himself, and presented the " Pan Dhan " to him—a Chaprassi who was standing behind took possession of it. The Peshkar garlanded others, and handed the " Pan Dhan " to them.

The Durbar came to an end, but the controversy remained. The Resident began to press for the journey to Bombay, and the Minister on his side apparently busied himself with arrangements for it ; but he and the Amir-i-Kabir carried on consultations. Finally, the Resident was informed that the revered grandmother had issued a " Firman " that His Highness, who had suffered from tonsilitis from babyhood, was not permitted by the attending physician to go to Bombay with its damp climate. The consequence was that Dr. Wyndowe the Residency Surgeon, was sent to examine His Highness and to report on his general state of health. The final result was, that the journey to Bombay fell through like a slaughtered animal which breathes its last with a tremor ; and in this wise, H.E. the Minister scored a victory over the Foreign Office and the question of suzerainty.

Mr. Saunders, who was blameless in the matter, fell under displeasure, and was transferred, his place being taken by Sir Richard Meade, who was now sent to Hyderabad, with special instructions to punish the loyal Minister.

EARLY FACTS REGARDING HIS HIGHNESS'S TUITION.

Captain John Clerk was the scion of a noble family, and had a lordly temperament. He considered every British official, including even the Resident, as lower in status to himself, and used to say that these men having taken degrees in examinations, came out to India and there conducted themselves in an overbearing and self-conceited manner, while they were utterly ignorant of the ways and behaviour of nobility in respect to speech, dress, etc.—Colonel Neville and Mr. Oliphant were men of similar views. They rarely met British officials, and whenever they did so, they were reserved towards them and carried themselves high.

Captain Clerk was so kind to me, that he never did anything without consulting me. His wife also treated me in like manner.—At the time when lessons were given he sat quiet and never interfered in anything.

I used to teach a few necessary sentences to His Highness and Zuffer Jung[*] every day and, apart from this, I had begun lessons from the ordinary " Reader," and also in grammar, geography and arithmetic, according to a settled programme. I went in the morning and returned in the afternoon. Whenever His Highness and Zuffer Jung were slack in their studies, I made the sons of the Mansabdars feel the weight of my displeasure. In short, I became popular in the palace, and carried out my duties with independence.

Quite suddenly a change came over the times. First of all, Mohamed Zaman Khan (on whom be peace !) met his martyrdom,[†] and I was deprived of his true friendship. After him, Nawab Shumshul-Umra Amir-i-Kabir Omdut-ul-Mulk passed away; and in him also I lost a supporter. Then Captain Clerk's beautiful wife, leaving an infant at the breast as her memento, stepped into the world beyond the grave ; and the Captain was so broken-hearted, that he left for England with his child.

And so now I had the Minister alone to encourage and support me. Indeed, the time had arrived in which, not only myself, but others, having lost our former peace of mind, and pleasure and comfort, were thrown into the vortex of sorrow, pain and care ; and so much so, that every man, high or low, began to think of his preservation. The state of affairs in the palace was coming to this, that Masi-uz-Zaman Khan,[‡] being just the opposite of his brother, the martyr, was apart from his legitimate duties as tutor, beginning to take upon himself other duties as well, and nothing could be done in the palace, without his permission and order. He was ambitious to advance his own interests, while his brother had had a dislike for all worldly things; and he was as greedy and self-seeking as his brother had been contented and selfless. Everybody, including servants, and those who were in constant attendance on His Highness, watched the demeanour of Moulvi Masi-uz-Zaman Khan with anxiety, hope and fear; and the latter began to feel his own power and influence to such an extent, that he began to look on the Minister as his rival. I through short-sightedness and pride, kept out of the way of despotism, and fled from him like an arrow; but, all the same, he tried to lower my respect and belittle my dignity—which after all, was not much—and to bring me into contempt at every step. He used to say, "I know all about this gentleman," meaning me. "If he came from Shahjehanabad, I am an inhabitant of Shahjehanpur!"

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[*] Born on the 29th Saffar, 1283 H., he was the son of Sir Khurshed Jah, by Princess Hussam-uz-Zaman, Begum. He died on the 23rd Zillada, 1324 H., aged 43.

[†] *Assassination of Moulvi Mohamed Zaman Khan.*—The culprit's name was Syed Mohamed. For full particulars *vide* " Biography of Moulvi Masih-uz-Zaman Khan," by Moulvi Muzaffer Hussan Khan Sulimani ; pp. 240-250.

[‡] Appointed in place of his brother on 2nd Mohurrum, 1293 H.

I was involved in these anxieties when a private dispute arose between Nawab Rashid-ud-din Khan Vikar-ul-Umra and Bashir-ud-dowlah, from which Vikar-ul-Umra through the support of Sir Richard Meade, came out the victor, and so came into possession of all honours and offices connected with the Royal Palace, and also of the titles of Shamshul-Umra, Amir-i-Kabir. In fact, he was appointed Co-regent with the Minister.* All these orders came from the Foreign Office, on the recommendation of Sir Richard Meade, and the Minister was forced to acknowledge them.

And now a tug-of-war began, which affected people in general. Sir Richard Meade,† a military man who had travelled far and wide, and who had great influence and power with his Government, whose confidence he possessed, adopted the following plan for so bringing things about, that the Minister's old enemy should, as a punishment for the former, share the responsibilities of his position. This nobleman had a loyal and experienced Parsee servant whose name was Shahpurjee, who could read and write English well. Of middle height, and brown complexion, pleasantly polite, and well-dressed, he was a clever, active man and, like his renowned master, was ready to oblige every one. In other words, so far as the Paigah was concerned he was all in all. His Excellency possessed no such loyal servant as Shahpurjee, who, in a very short time, succeeded in bringing Nawab Amir-i-Kabir and the Resident together; and so the chastisement of the Minister began.

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* 22nd Jamadi-us-sani, 1294 H.

† Resident, 5th December, 1875, to 24th March, 1880.

First of all the Iron foundry, in charge of Raja Girdari Lall,* was made a target for attack, because a few guns were made there, suspicion being thrown on the Minister's intention in regard to them.

Nawab Amir-i-Kabir, who owed his position to Sir Richard Meade, and was under obligation to him, assisted him in every matter.

The old established rule that no person from the city, whether official or non-official, could visit Secunderabad, let alone Chadarghat, without permission, was, after great efforts, set aside; and even I was ordered to call on Sir Richard Meade every Saturday, and present to him a weekly report of His Highness's progress.

The officers of the Irregular Troops, that is, Arab and Pathan Jemadars, were summoned to the Residency and there specially tutored; but as H.E. the Minister had full control over the officials and heads of the Judicial Revenue and of the Miscellaneous departments, and of the servants belonging to these, they therefore—since their hopes and fears were centred in him—nolens volens, observed the old rule.

Captain Clerk, Mr. Oliphant and Col. Neville openly sided with the Minister, and opposed the Resident, who, however, succeeded in giving the coup de grace to Mr. Oliphant, and sent him away one night in a helpless condition to Bombay. But the other European gentlemen fearlessly stood their ground.

At this juncture Shahpurjee was the only man who held sway, and it was generally believed in the city that the Minister would not be able to maintain himself. As the poet says:—

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* Died 23rd Safar, 1314 H. He was a poet, and his pen-name was "Baki."

> " If he remains, he remains a night only, but
> the following night will chronicle his departure."

Sir Richard Meade had, according to his own views, completed his arrangements. He then informed His Excellency that he had received a docket from the Viceroy, which he wanted him to come and hear ; but his Excellency, making an excuse of indisposition, summoned the Resident to himself, and calling the officers of the army together, that is to say, the Jemadars, etc., gave them the necessary instructions.

On the day of the meeting, the courtyard was full of Arab and Pathan troops, and the Jemadars, fully armed, were sitting in the " Hall of Mirrors," when Sir Richard Meade's carriage entered the courtyard. At sight of the crowd, he was thrown into anxiety, and when he reached the Hall of Mirrors, he did not find the Minister there to receive him as was customary. Instead, Mir Tehvur Ali, the Minister's foster-brother, advanced and intimated that the Nawab Sahib (bad luck to his enemies !) was indisposed ; and Sir Richard perceiving the Jemadars in full war kit, became more anxious and inferred that his tutoring had had no effect on them.

Finally he reached the gallery, and there the Nawab advanced up the threshold to meet him, and, taking him by the hand, made him sit on the same couch with him.

After exchange of greetings, the Nawab made a request to see the docket ; but the Resident replied, " You are indisposed. After recovery, you may come over to me and I will then explain the whole matter to you."

His Excellency smiled and said, " Sir Richard, I know the whole facts." And throwing his handerchief on the ground, he went on : " I have not as much respect for office as for this handkerchief." My gracious master has given me enough to make me satisfied even without holding this office, but you cannot snatch the latter away from me. My late Master and Sovereign gave the hand of his orphan son into mine on his death-bed, and expressed the wish that I should serve him faithfully, even at the risk of losing my head.

The Government has not appointed me, nor am I subordinate to it. You certainly have the power to arrest and carry me away, but the responsibility for bloodshed in, and disaster to, the State, will wholly rest with the Government before God and Man."

While this conversation was taking place, the door of the room was shoved open and Ghalib Jung, Mukadam Jung, and other Jemadars, armed to the teeth, entered, and in a loud voice cried, " Nawab Sahib, we are prepared to lay down our lives—we await your command."

The General appeared frightened out of his wits, but the Nawab in a harsh tone and with evident displeasure, warned the men away, and then returning to the Resident, apologetically said, " These savage men of the desert express their loyalty in a crude manner."

He then requested that the docket might be shown to him, and also asked the Resident to inform the Government of his reply, and not to think of the uncivil conduct of the Jemadars; and he added that the subjects of his Sovereign, one and all, held him in similar affection and regard.

The General possibly believed that all was up with him, and, although he knew that the Government would take the necessary steps in the matter, he wished to get out of the dilemma. At last he said, " Nawab Sahib, you are indisposed, and are upset and angry over these matters—postpone them for the next meeting."

He then rose, but after looking hither and thither, again sat down.

The Nawab Sahib guessed the reason for his action, and accordingly himself escorted him to the door, where he said that as he was unwell, Tehvur Ali would see him off and also accompany him, and that no one would dare raise his small finger without orders from him. The interview was thus concluded. (These facts came to my knowledge through Riasat Ali, the son of Tehvur Ali).

Those were stirring times for the Minister, and although he did not possess a man to equal Shahpurjee in sagacity and ability, he passed through the ordeal with great determination and patience.

Among those of the matters that suffered most, His Highness's education was the most important and was in grave danger of being adversely affected.

Moulvi Masi-uz-Zaman Khan was now beginning to consider his subordination to the Minister a hardship, and his ambition was, not only to take under his direction all matters connected with the palace, but also to take charge of the person of his Highness to the exclusion of all others ; and at this period the opportunity he sought came in his way.

The Amir-i-Kabir laid claim to introduce two or three of his own men from amongst his Mansabdars and attendants, into the Royal Palace to remain there night and day—this on the plea that His Highness was surrounded by Diwani officials who had the chance of conveying praises of the Minister to the Royal ears. (The real fact, however, was that with the exception of myself and Masiuzzaman Khan, the rest had hereditary connexion with the palace). Finally, on the one side, the Minister and Captain Clerk acted in unison, and on the other, the Amir-i-Kabir and the Resident worked hand in hand. However, on behalf of Amir-i-Kabir a doctor, Mohamed Ashraf, and two of his attendants, Abdul Majid and Moinuddin, entered into the palace. Abdul Majid was a very simple Muslim, but Moinuddin, a member of the family of the Mashayaks of Aurangabad (a religious order), and an instrument in the hand of Shahpurjee, was shrewd and ambitious. He soon became an adviser and a confidant of Moulvi Masi-uz-Zaman Khan. As a set-off, he succeeded in turning the Moulvi over to the side of the Amir-i-Kabir.

The Minister also placed three of his men, namely, Riasat Ali* son of Tehvur Ali, Agha Nasir Shah, a nephew of the Agha Khan, and an Indian Government servant, Mirza Mohamed Ali Beg—the last on the recommendation of Agha Nasir Shah. Of these, Agha Nasir Shah was a man of princely temperament, and a bosom companion of Mr. Syed Hussain ; Riasat Ali, like the other city people, was a simpleton, with no experience of the tragedies of life ; and the third, a Rasaidar of a British Regiment, was a far-sighted, thoughtful man, well up in his dealings with the British officials. This last was also more ambitious than even Moinuddin ; and, in addition, was a good horseman. Agha Nasir Shah led a life of ennui, while Mohamed Ali Beg occupied himself with thoughts of future prosperity.

Now Riasat Ali was alone to face Moinuddin and the

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* A.D.C. to H.H. the Nizam, Nawab Mahbub Yar Jung, died 2nd Shawal, 1325 H.

Moulvi, and his position, as compared with these two, was such as the poet describes, viz. :—

> " He who has come to pierce my breast to the heart,
> is one who cannot put a thread through the eye
> of a needle."

As for myself, first as a tutor to His Highness, I was only concerned with matters relating to tuition ; secondly, General Meade's threats were ringing in my ears ; and thirdly, my duty kept me at the palace, for a few hours only, that is, from morning to about noon. During the rest of the time, I remained at my house doing nothing, whereas those gentlemen attended the palace at all times of the day and night.

Captain Clerk, being a European, did not know our ways of living.

Sir Richard Meade openly declared that the Minister was so fond of power, that he was neglecting His Highness's education, and wished him to remain ignorant and illiterate, so that he might enjoy his own power the more.

Poor Mustakim Jung knew neither how to read nor to write, but he was dubbed " Mohamed the Learned." He was a simple gentleman, very honest and constant, and truly loyal to the Ruler and the Minister.

He always spoke to me of his difficulties and disappointments.

In the meanwhile the Minister (with true diplomatic foresight) went to England*, and left Mukram-ud-dowlah and the Peshkar as deputies.

The Captain had preceded him, with his orphan child, and so I was now left alone without friend or supporter, and while filled with all kinds of fears, was nevertheless responsible for the education of a great Ruler. I was young, quick of temper, and irritable, and was so lazy that I never kept up with the officials and nobility of the State, so that, in time of need, their friendship could stand me in good stead. I do not know how I managed to pull through this period of anxiety in safety.

H.E. the Minister appointed Captain Claude Clerk, and an elder brother, in place of Captain John Clerk, and brought him along with him on his return from his

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* 16th April, 1876 A.D. (1293 H.)

European tour. At the very first meeting, he met me coldly, and maintained that attitude throughout his stay in Hyderabad. He was a Military man and through some cause had lost the use of one of his legs. He was also a life-long sufferer from bladder complaints. He did not know how to teach; nor, owing to his continued bad health, was he fit for any work. At the same time he was constantly anxious about what people thought of him; and without any previous experience of my work he had, whilst in England, come to look upon me as one of lesser ability than Mr. Syed Hussain.

Immediately on his arrival, he refused to be called a tutor, and began to use the style, Superintendent of Education, in regard to himself; and he persistently pressed on the Minister to employ a qualified and experienced Englishman as his assistant, with the result that Mr. Davidson was appointed to this post. The latter was a sporting young man. He also left the whole work to me, and, as luck would have it, became my friend. But he was not to live long, and passed away in a couple of months.*

And now Moulvi Nazir Ahmed began to make friends with the Captain. This gentleman was an inhabitant of a small town near Delhi, and had held a high position in the Education Department of the British Sirkar. After retirement, he came to Hyderabad, enjoying a fat pension, and was given the post of a Sudder Talukdar (Commissioner of a Division). He was a man of advanced age, but very shrewd and clever, and was soon able to ingratiate himself with the Captain. He was an author of repute, and had written several books; and now he compiled in simple Urdu a glossary of Revenue terms and also wrote short essays on the procedure employed in Revenue courts. These were "fair copied," in the caligraphic style of the East, and presented to Captain Claude Clerk.

It was now decided that, together with English education, lessons on administrative matters should also be given; and the Resident, who had already made charges against the Minister, as regards His Highness's tuition, unwillingly fell in with the Captain's views, in regard to the employment of the Moulvi, a pensioner of the British Government and a man of great erudition. The Amir-i-Kabir, who was a protégé of the Resident, perforce agreed to this arrangement.

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* Mr. Davidson was appointed on the 12th Jamadi-us-sani, 1297 H. (1880 A.D.), and died on the 4th Shawal, 1297 H.

It may be said with truth that Shahpurji tried hard to dissuade the Resident, but now the Minister himself was obliged to sanction the appointment ; and when I went to see him as usual, he being very kind to me, said to console me, that, although the appointment was made, I should not suffer by it, and that Captain Clerk would look to the distribution of the work. I said that my duty was to serve the Sirkar, and that I would gladly discharge any work entrusted to me.

On the other hand, Captain Claude Clerk informed me that the Moulvi would begin the work the next day, and that he and I should distribute the work between ourselves. As for the Moulvi, he began to give away appointments in the palace, name by name, to his relatives and friends, a day previous to his taking charge. With the exception of Amin-ud-din Khan, Inayat Ullah Khan and Inayat-ur-Rahman Khan there was not a Hindustanee who did not call to congratulate and flatter him ; and a great durbar was held at his house.

Now hear a strange story. A very old gentleman, who had arrived in Hyderabad from some place outside, stayed with me for several months. Of middle height, lean of body, and brown of complexion, he was, although very old, active and erect. He had a white beard, neither large nor small, and wore Turkish costume, with his hair falling to his shoulders. He was utterly ignorant of Urdu, but he was an elegant Persian scholar, and when he spoke on Sufi doctrine*, one became enchanted with his flowery language ; and after Assur prayers he often delivered sermons, which the audience loved to hear.

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* *Tassawwaf* (Theosophy) is the means by which a man in this world can make personal approach to God. Most moderns seem to think that the existence of God is debatable. The Muslim does not think so, for his belief in God is not based on faith alone, but also on his personal experience ; and Sufi writers have described that experience with critical exactness. Some of the best philosophy the deepest thought, and the most splendid poetry, that Islamic culture has produced, is to be found in Sufi literature. True Sufism is the spirit, as against blind worship of the letter of Islam.

One day, when, after my return from the Minister's he and I were taking tea together, Mir Rahmat Ali, a Delhi man, came to see me, and said to me in a loud tone, " Be happy on your death (discomfiture) ! Now your existence in the palace is impossible. There the Departments are being given away."

The Shah Sahib (religious men are called " Shah Sahib," out of respect) having heard the words " Murgay To " (your death), turned in astonishment to me, and enquired in Persian what the man meant ; and Mir Rahmat Ali then related the whole story.

The Shah Sahib was greatly shocked, and, after remaining silent for a short time, said to me catching hold of his beard, " Rest assured, he "—Nazir Ahmed—" will not be allowed to enter the palace."

On this Mir Rahmat Ali laughed ; and the Shah Sahib becoming angry, then said, " By God, if Nazir, the fool, goes to the palace to-morrow, I will get my beard shaved."

On seeing the Moulvi get into temper, Mir Rahmat Ali became silent.

Till nine or ten in the evening, the Shah Sahib's countenance showed signs of anger, and a state of silence prevailed.

The next morning I reached the palace early, before all others, and sent Mustakim Jung to bring forth His Highness, while I waited the arrival of Nasir Ahmed and Captain Clerk. When the time for tuition had come, and with it His Highness and Zuffer Jung, the two men mentioned above had not put in their appearance ; but I began to teach for fear of wasting time.

A good while later, I received a letter from the Captain requesting that after finishing the lessons, I should proceed to him quickly.

The tuition duly came to an end, and the Khansamah prepared the table for the afternoon meal. His Highness and Zuffer Jung then came to the table, and Mustakim Jung and myself shared the meal with them. After it was over, Mustakim Jung said to me that Masi-uz-Zaman Khan was only the " mother of the world," but now the " father "—(Nazir Ahmed)—" of the world " was coming, but it was strange that he had not yet come.

I reached the Captain's bungalow in a state of great astonishment. He was in a great temper, and much worried, and immediately on meeting me, said that the Amir-i-Kabir had played a great trick on him and injured his reputation in the eyes of the public.—" Read this letter from the Prime Minister."

The letter said that Nawab Amir-i-Kabir Bahadur had not sanctioned Nazir Ahmed's appointment, and that he should not be taken to the palace.

Then, after telling me that he had also been to see the Resident, the Captain went on to say that until then the Resident had supported him, but to-day he had shown annoyance, and said that we fought between ourselves and worried him. " What was the necessity of getting a Purdasi man like Nazir Ahmed introduced into the Palace against the wishes of Amir-i-Kabir Bahadur ? " continued the Captain. " Therefore you go to the Minister, and tell him that if Nazir Ahmed does not go to the palace, I give up my appointment."

I asked him not to involve me in this dispute, as I should get a bad name for nothing ; but on his insistence I was obliged to go to the Nawab Sahib.

He met me smilingly and said, " ' All's well that ends well.' But the part which Amir-i-Kabir plays is not according to his dignity, and Captain Clerk's obstinacy is not proper. Last night Amir-i-Kabir's vakil, Abdul Majid, came to me and said that if Nazir Ahmed entered the palace this morning, he would leave the City and go out. After this a letter from Sir Richard Meade came to the effect that Nazir Ahmed should not be permitted to enter the palace."

I returned home from the Minister's and found the Shah Sahib in great worry and anxiety, walking up and down. The moment he saw me, he asked me whether his beard was to remain whole or to be cropped ; and I related to him the full facts. He then fell in a Sigdah (he rested his head on the ground as a sign of devotion) to praise God, and afterwards said to me in Persian, " Mirza, be happy—God is your protector ! "

This misfortune, too, passed away, but as it was known that Captain Claude Clerk did not like me, another man then wished to take my post. His name was Dost Muhammad Khan, and he was an inhabitant of Delhi. A man of ordinary attainments, he was employed in the Educational

Department, and had a previous conviction of gambling against him. He knew a little of Urdu and Persian, and had read English at home : and now having translated an English Grammar into Urdu, he took it to the Captain, and somebody praised it up. The result was that Captain Clerk not only recommended this man's appointment to the Minister, but began to insist upon it. However, as it happened, the man fell ill, and passed away.

God the merciful preserved me from this misfortune also.

Matters now took a new turn. On the one hand, the Captain, prejudiced against me even while in England, was in search of another man, and on the other, Sir Richard, defeated as he was, acting under the instructions of the Foreign Office, continued his efforts against the Minister while Nawab-Amir-i-Kabir and Shahpurjee had almost succeeded in their antagonism towards the Minister.

It was now proposed that His Highness should be examined, in order to see what progress he had made. The Captain agreed and insisted on this course, but His Excellency became very anxious. I, however, reassured him, and also made one condition, namely that honest men should be selected as examiners. Accordingly Mr. Krohn* was appointed to examine His Highness in English, literature, while a Hindu gentleman, of an eminent family, and both fair-minded and good-hearted, who held a high appointment in the P.W.D., was sent to examine him in Arithmetic.

On the very first day of the examination, His Highness answered questions from the grammar and the reader with firmness, and read out a lesson with fairly good pronunciation ; but Zuffer Jung got flurried, and, after pauses here and there, finally broke down. But in geography both pointed out places on the map correctly ; and they also did fairly well in history.

Mr. Krohn was much astonished.

The Rai Sahib came the next day. He wore the usual Neema and Jama, turban and belt, the folds of the Jama being held in position by bands which fell in a cluster on his chest ; and dignity and nobility shone from his countenance. He put questions in Division, Subtraction and Multiplication, all of which His Highness answered correctly.

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* Appointed tutor on the 22nd Shawal, 1297 H. (1880 A.D.)

Mr. Clerk wondered—and thus another defeat was inflicted on the enemies of the Minister.

Nevertheless Mr. Clerk did not give in, and now I, myself, made a request that another man should be appointed to share the responsibility with me, and, in furtherance of my object, I summoned Mirza Nasir Ali Beg to Hyderabad and presented him to the Minister. He had formerly served in a responsible position in the Educational Department of the Province of Agra, and later as Deputy Collector, and was now a pensioner. He had been sent on behalf of the Government to Egypt, Turkey (Constantinople) and other countries, to investigate the conditions in regard to matters educational prevailing in those countries. He was well-up in English and Persian, and possessed a knowledge of the customs and ceremonies of the Moglai Durbars: and was a good-hearted and pure-minded man.

His Excellency was glad to meet him, but Captain Clerk objected to his old age and bowed body; and at last the latter succeeded in getting Mr. Krohn appointed instead in the hope that he and I might fall out. But we had worked together before, and Mr. Krohn held a good opinion of me; and he and I got on together in perfect agreement, right to the end. In fact, approving of my method of teaching, Mr. Krohn entrusted to me the whole work.

But Masi-uz-Zaman Khan continued to attack me, and thanks to the efforts of Shahpurjee and Moinuddin, he was won over to the side of Amir-i-Kabir, and looked upon him as his supporter. And openly defying the Minister, he now proposed that since he could not spare the time, through being engaged in administrative matters in the palace, he should be given two assistants. Accordingly Moulvi Ashraf Ali Chidyad Kothi and Moulvi Anwar-Ulla were appointed assistants. The latter was a young man of good parts and of noble mien, and conducted himself like a true Muslim.

I found, however, that His Highness's time reserved for Persian was being wasted, and that though two or three sittings, perhaps, came off in a week, they were very short ones. The two Assistants could not pick up courage to face the Moulvi. It often happened, too, that His Highness, when he came to take the lesson, would bring forth from his pocket a piece of valuable jewellery, such as a ring, etc., and would say, " I have brought this for you." Moulvi Masi-uz-zaman would at first make a show of refusal, but then would accept it, if His Highness insisted.

After consulting Mr. Krohn I began Urdu lessons also during my hours of work; and later in the afternoon I took possession of Munshi Muzufferuddin's time. The Munshi had not proceeded further than the alphabets, and His Highness, after passing his pen over a few words, would lay aside the " Thakhti " (a wooden plate covered with chalk, and with words inscribed on it, over which the student would pass his pen, dipped in ink.) The Munshi had no equal in Caligraphy in Hyderabad, or, for the matter of that, in India.

I also took advantage of this opportunity, and, coming to understand the formation of letters, according to the principles of the art, was thus able to rectify defects in His Highness's education.

But in the eyes of the Moulvi, my interference appeared improper; and becoming emboldened one morning, at breakfast-time he honoured me and Mr. Krohn and the Captain with some very harsh words, openly at the table. Captain Clerk took it very ill, but the Resident, on the recommendation of the Amir-i-Kabir, supported the Moulvi. At last it was proposed that the Minister, Amir-i-Kabir and the Peshkar should go to the palace, and, after investigating the matter, present a report. The whole of the palace staff, however, were so intimidated by the Amir-i-Kabir and the Moulvi, that they held themselves aloof, raising the plea of alibi and of their complete ignorance of the affair; and only I and Riasat Ali remained.

Before the sitting the Resident sent for me, and when I had frankly informed him of all the facts, said, " You say this, but I have heard that this dispute is improper for Captain Clerk."

Then the Amir-i-Kabir summoned me. There also I frankly related the facts. The Nawab was very much put out, and said, " What do you gain by saying such things ?

and why should the Moulvi call Captain Clerk ' the Lame Timur ' ? "

Shapurjee now suggested that, when summoned, I should make an excuse and not appear, and at last they agreed not to subpœna me, and to settle the dispute by consultation.

Then the Minister sent for me and informed me of the facts, including the conversations the Resident and the Amir-i-Kabir had had with me. The Nawab laughed, and asked how could I get out of it. I suggested that since Riasat Ali would be there, my presence might be excused. The Minister replied that Amir-i-Kabir had objected to Riasat Ali as my partisan.

Finally, on the appointed day, the three distinguished noblemen assembled at the Râg Mala palace. His Highness came forth to take his lessons, and I walked in quickly, through a drizzle towards the palace. The Minister seeing me pass, sent a peon with the order that I should first present myself before him. But Nawab Amir-i-Kabir said there was no necessity for me to do so. However, while this exchange was taking place, I reached the spot, and saluting sat down.

Maharaja Peshkar then suggested that there was no harm in taking down my statement, as the decision would still rest with them ; but Nawab Amir-i-Kabir put in that I had expressed my ignorance of the affair. On this, the Minister asked me whether it was the case that I had no knowledge of the matter ; and I replied that since I had already made statements before the Resident and him, how could I now deny knowledge of it.

Hearing this, the Nawab Amir-i-Kabir, in a state of frenzy, said to the Minister that this was all due to his intrigue, and that he, Amir-i-Kabir, had been brought there to be insulted ; and he left the hall and went out into the pouring rain. The Minister sent his servant after him with a waterproof, but he threw it down in the mire, and, regardless of the rain, entered his conveyance and drove away to his palace.

I then respectfully represented to the Minister that this temper and displeasure were meant for poor me ; but the Maharaja laughed, and said that they, and not I, had fallen under Amir-i-Kabir's displeasure.

Here, again. the opponents of the Minister tasted defeat, but now Moulvi Masi-uz-Zaman Khan made a new and strange move on the chess-board, giving out that His Highness was suffering from a certain disease, and that the fault lay with the Minister, since he kept His Highness in the Mahallat (Ladies' quarters), where he could not possibly supervise His Highness's movements.

The Resident subjected the Minister to a very severe correspondence regarding this matter—and Baker Ali Khan, the Court Physician, had his days numbered.

On the other hand, the ladies of the Royal Palace protested against these shameful accusations, and Captain Clerk complained that he could not carry on the work of education under these conditions.

Dr. Law, the Residency Surgeon, was deputed to see into the matter for himself. Dr. Ashraf had died, but Hakim Baker Ali Khan, Dr. Ghulam Dastagir, and Vazeer Ali, were present.

Dr. Law was obliged to report that His Highness was not suffering from any disease, but was weak and thin, owing to the negligence of the Court Physician.

Here once more the Minister scored a victory, but Masi-uz-Zaman gained his object. Mahtab Mahal was made the residence of His Highness, where he lived and slept, only occasionally being permitted to visit the Mahallat; and the Moulvi, together with his supporters, put up at the palace, and staying there throughout the day and night, controlled the person of His Highness, so that it was only during the lesson-hours that the latter came to me at the Suleman Jah Haveli (Palace).

The Minister saw through this, and ordered my continual attendance at the palace; and, to relieve me of anxiety on behalf of my children, he granted a Mansab of Rs.200 from the Diwani to my father-in-law, Fakhr-ud-din Khan, and made him stay at home.

After some time His Highness's residence in Chaumahalla Palace was not considered advisable, and now the Minister got an opportunity to score off the Resident. Pointing out that the Residency Proper was at Bolarum, and that the building at Chadarghat was only for temporary use, he wrote requesting that the Resident should vacate and remove himself and his belongings to Bolarum, and hand over the building for His Highness's residence, as his place of instruction. Sir Richard agreed to this; but the ladies of the Mahallat, and especially the revered grandmother on the advice of the Amir-i-Kabir, refused to sanction the proposal, and accordingly Purana Haveli (the old palace)* was then got ready as a school for His Highness.

The Mahallat were influenced against the Minister on the ground that his policy was to hand over His Highness to the British, in order that he (the Minister) might indulge in power the more.

During the short stay of the Moulvi and Amir-i-Kabir's men at Mahtab Mahal they used the opportunity to buy off the female attendants at the palace with presents and gratuities, so that praises of the Amir-i-Kabir and blemishes of the Minister could be carried by men and women alike to the Royal Ear; and the effect of this was becoming apparent. Shapurjee began to be invited to the palace at the time of the evening meals. Mir Riasat Ali was no match for Moinuddin; Agha Nasir Shah, ignorant of the ways of intrigue, could not act the part of a go-between; and Mirza Mohamed Ali Beg gave himself entirely to the thought of his future betterment. Of the other three of us Captain Clerk and Mr. Krohn were Europeans, who had neither the aptitude nor an opportunity for this sort of work; and I, unable to put up with constant attempts to bring me into contempt, stayed away from the Palace, and contented myself with going at the time fixed for His Highness's lessons, or to be present at the table for breakfast and the evening meals.

How far the opponents of the Minister succeeded in their efforts, can be estimated from one incident that took place at the breakfast-table. One day Captain Clerk sat down with an album, and began to show photographs of various persons, and pointing to the Minister's photo, he lavished praises on him. His Highness at this threw aside the album.

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* *His Highness's residence at Purana Haveli.* The proposal was to take him to Bolarum (*vide* letter of Sir Salar Jung I., dated the 17th Rabi-us-sani, 1298 H.) This letter was written to Moulvi Masih-uz-Zaman Khan, and is given "in extenso" in "Hiyath-a-Masih," the biography of Masi-uz-Zaman Khan, by Muhammad Muzaffer Hussan Khan. (Page 50.)

The author was sent with this letter, and the correspondence that passed between Sir Salar Jung and the Resident, to Moulvi Mashi-uz-Zaman Khan, who was asked to use his influence with the Mahallat to prevent His Highness from taking up his residence in Bolarum. The influence and domination of the Moulvi in all matters connected with the palace, require no further elucidation.

During the absence of Captain Clerk,* Major Wilson, the First Assistant-Resident was sent as a " locum tenens," and Nawab Amir-i-Kabir sending for him, said, " I dislike Agha Mirza Beg. Find another man to take his place."

Major Wilson informed me of this, and thinking to myself, as the maxim goes, " Stop before they ask you to stop," I wrote my resignation and presented it to the Minister. He, however, with expressions of kindness and sympathy, refused to accept it, telling me that I should have to face greater difficulties, advised me to keep up my courage.

It was in these circumstances that I was obliged to call on the Nawab Amir-i-Kabir, who was ill with a disease that was soon to carry him off. I met Shapurjee, and this gentleman went in personally to announce my arrival, and then called me to an upper storey of the palace.

The Nawab Sahib was dressed in Angharakka and Dastar,—the latter a head-dress peculiar to Hyderabad. He looked weak and ill, but sat erect propped up with pillows, and had his moustaches twisted up as usual. A sheath and a sword lay close to the Masnad.

I saluted him. He took my salute coldly, motioned me to sit down, and then enquired why I had come. I pulled out my resignation from my pocket and placed it before him. He threw it away, and said, " Give it to one who has employed you." And when Shapurjee came to my assistance, and said that Mukhtar-ul-Mulk had sent me, he became still more peevish, and said, " that Ravzi "— " is accustomed to throw his trouble on others."

Then turning to me, said, " I am not afraid of him. You are welcome to tell him this."

" I dare not interfere in such delicate matters," I returned.

" But if I were to prove that you do interfere ? "

" In that event," I submitted, " my resignation should be refused, and I ought to be dismissed from service, but on condition that the one who has accused me should be summoned to face me."

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* 10th Jamadi-us-sani, 1298 H.

" Hear me," he then said, " your family has been in close contact with us. I even know the names of your womenfolk—your father-in-law, Ghulam Fakhruddin, knows this. Then why are you a partisan of Mukhtar-ul-Mulk and opposing me ? "

I replied to the effect that I refused to accept this accusa tion. That there could be no partisanship between me a servant and Mukhtar-ul-Mulk, the Minister, and how could I dare oppose him (Amir-i-Kabir). The fact that I had had dealings of old standing with his celebrated house was a a boon to me—I had just become aware of this, and now I was more entitled than ever to expect especial favours at his hand. There was no doubt that Nawab Mukhtar-ul-Mulk had appointed me to my present post, but it did not necessarily follow from that, that I should endanger my old connexions with his honoured house.

He said the example of Moulvi Sahib (Masi-uz-Zaman Khan) was before me, and added that Mukhtar-ul-Mulk could not grant the favours that he could.

He then inquired whether I were meeting Khurshed Jah, and I replied that the latter's son Zuffer Jung, was one of my pupils, and that whenever Khurshed Jah sent for me, I went to him. And I added that Khurshed Jah was a scion of his own house.

" Yes," he returned, " he was such a scion as to try to administer poison to his younger brother, Ekbal-ud-dowlah." I was much perturbed at this.

Finally, he made two stipulations with me. First, that on proper occasions I should convey his panegyrics to His Highness, and, secondly, that I should sing the praises of Ekbal-ud-dowlah, rather than those of Khurshed Jah. I was pardoned, and he himself tore up my resignation, and ordered Shapurjee to take me to Ekbal-ud-dowlah. In those days the latter was of tender age and very reticent.

I related the whole story to His Excellency, the Minister who laughed heartily at it and said, that, on his part, he permitted me to praise up Amir-i-Kabir Bahadur.

The next day, a beautiful phaeton and a very big Arab horse were brought to me by one of the servants of Amir-i-Kabir, as a gift from the latter, who also sent me a piece of paper on which the estimate of the pay for the coachman and the syce, fodder, etc., was entered, the same being paid from the estate of Amir-i-Kabir every month. I was greatly perplexed over this, for I could neither accept nor refuse the gift, because in either case I was afraid of the result. In my quandary, I had the horse and carriage stabled at my place, while I immediately wrote a petition to His Excellency, and then went over to see Major Wilson. And both of them permitted me to accept the gift.—To forgive and to honour was customary with the Omras (noblemen) in bygone days !—Nevertheless, as a precautionary measure, I had the name of my father-in-law, Fakhrud-ud-din Khan, entered as owner, instead of my own.

I was thus able to busy myself with the education of His Highness, with peace of mind, and in a short time His Highness was able to write and read Urdu, while he also made sufficiently good progress in Arithmetic. His Highness used always to say that if I had not been there, he would have remained illiterate.

But the Moulvi continued to harass me, and the Captain also occasionally made himself unpleasant. This was due to my having foolishly said on one occasion, that, after I had finished tuition, I should be entitled to lay claim to serve His Highness as a Secretary.

On one occasion, when at Purana Haveli, His Highness became indisposed. The physicians assembled, and the Residency Surgeon was sent for, and they, having felt the invalid's pulse, turned to me instead of to the Moulvi, and gave me instructions as to food, medicine, etc. ; and then I foolishly drew the attention of the attendants to these, and asking Baker Ali Khan to get the prescription prepared quickly, gave orders that every physician should attend by turns. Thereupon the Moulvi began openly to use such abusive language towards me, that I was forced to reply to him in a similar strain. Then telling me sarcastically to look after the arrangements of the palace, he went home and gave orders that all the attendants should also leave. But the Nawab Amir-i-Kabir countermanded that order, and asked them to return. The other attendants obeyed, but the Moulvi remained away.

I then went to the Minister. He was very angry with me, and said I had lost a fine opportunity, for I ought at once to have taken the palace administration into my hands. and not to have allowed the attendants to depart. He asked me to go back immediately, and said that he would see the matter through.

I went back to the palace, and remained there the whole night. I summoned the "Mansabdars" whose duty it was to watch the Royal Bed, and issued orders to those who attended at regular intervals.

The next day, without being asked, the Moulvi returned, and winning over Captain Clerk to his views, commenced to work.

There is no doubt that up to this time His Highness said his prayers five times a day. He also used to learn swimming daily in a cistern (small tank), with his attendants and the Moulvi. But he took his meals at a table only during the periods set apart for his English education. At all other times, neither in his speech nor in the matter of dress, had he in the slightest degree a liking for English habits or etiquette.

He wore a gold embroidered Samarkand Cap, and an Angrakha of the old Decanni style, or Sherwani; but at Durbars he put on a "dastar," with the "Toora" (gold brocade placed on the forefront of the head-gear as a sign of royalty), according to the old usage*. Nawab Amir-i-Kabir and Shapurjee were in complete agreement in regard to this matter, with the Minister.

When Sir Richard proposed, contrary to the established rule of the "Durbar," to visit His Highness in his private capacity at any time he liked, and to interview him alone, none of the great nobles would agree to this, but could not advisedly refuse it. The Minister therefore located a few of his harkaras (peons) on the bridge (Afzul Gunj) leading to the Palace, and gave special instructions to Raja Girdhari Lall. Then one day, the Resident came riding up to the bridge, and on seeing him the harkaras (peons) ran in all directions to convey information of this; and while Captain Clerk and I were conversing together, the Resident galloped in and soon afterwards the troops also marched in and falling into line, saluted.

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* This special puggaree was bestowed on the great Asaf Jah, the founder of the dynasty, by the Emperor Alamgir.

The Resident was greatly put out, and enquired by whose authority they were there ; to which the Arz Begee replied, that they required no especial orders, but were bound to discharge their duty, from time immemorial.

In the meanwhile the Minister, the Nawab Amir-i-Kabir and other noblemen, also arrived. The Resident, with Captain Clerk, His Highness and Zuffer Jung, were in the room, and the nobles and the Durbaris were on the verandah. It was a strange impromptu durbar that thus assembled.

His Highness being of tender years showed a slight anxiety, and evinced wonder at the proceedings, and when the Resident began to converse with him, he continued to look silently into his face.

I spoke in a whisper to Captain Clerk, and he, holding the Resident by the hand, led him to the breakfast-table ; and then I, on the advice of Captain Clerk, went outside and told the nobles that they were summoned to the Royal presence. They then also entered the room, and sat down at the table. After tea, Captain Clerk excused himself, as that was the time for him to begin his tuition ; and the Resident seemingly put out and displeased, abruptly left.

Sir Richard subsequently proposed that His Highness should accept his invitation to dine with him, and as the nobles could not very well refuse it, they accepted the invitation conditionally.

On this night the Residency* was brilliantly lighted up, even the trees in the compound being decorated with myriads of lanterns of different colours, which swayed to and fro in the breeze. The grounds of the Residency were full of conveyances of all sorts, and of British troops, while Military officers who were then in Bolarum or Secunderabad, were in attendance within the Residency, in their uniforms. In addition, the whole of the nobility of Hyderabad, dressed in variegated costumes, and gathered into small groups, was present on this occasion.

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* *The Residency* is situated on the left bank of the River Musi, opposite to the north-eastern corner of the City. The building is an imposing one, and stands in the midst of a beautiful park-like expanse, with handsome laid-out gardens. It was commenced in 1800, under the supervision of Mr. Russell of the Madras Engineers, and was completed about 1807. It contains a Durbar Hall on the grand floor, measuring 60 feet by 33 feet, and 50 feet high.

His Highness accompanied by the staff, the Moulvi and myself, took his seat on a gilt chair in a central position. He had on the dress usually worn by the Royal family, with the " dastar " and the " toora."

The hall and the surrounding rooms were full of guests, who rubbed shoulders with one another.

In due course the Resident advanced and announced that dinner was ready, and then a commotion was the result, as the guests hurried towards the dining-room. After the meal, they again assembled in the main hall.

Mustakim Jung then spoke to me. and said, " Agha Sahib the wind in my stomach is becoming troublesome. Hookah cannot, of course, be had but get me a cigar from some Englishman."

A British officer was standing close to me, and so I told him that the Nawab wanted a cigar. He looked with wonder at me and said, " Have you not read the notification, that if a man be found with a cigar in his pocket, he will be turned out at once ? Tell this Nawab from me that I do not wish to be so treated."

After a pyrotechnic display, the function came to an end, and the guests departed to their homes.

Some time later, the Resident, invited His Highness to witness the Military Sports, and there was some discussion about this invitation also ; but in the end Nawab Amir-i-Kabir consented, and the Minister was obliged to acquiesce in it. Nawab Amir-i-Kabir, though weakened by his illness accompanied His Highness, he and the Minister taking their seats in the yellow State carriage facing His Highness.

Mustakim Jung and myself drove in another carriage, and as we were going along, Mustakim began to complain of the Moulvi, whom he called the " Mother of the World " (Masi-uz-zaman was so named because of his greed), and I, getting tired of saying " Yes " to him, at last told him that people thought he was a fool. At the time, muttering to himself, " Ooh. . . ooh ! " Mustakim dropped into silence, but later he spoke to His Highness, complaining against me in a very sorrowful manner. His Highness and Zuffer Jung, however, took it as a joke, and often enquired of Mustakim Jung what Hazrat (that is I) had called him.

And then the poor man felt ashamed, while the other attendants laughed.

However, to return to the sports. They began after we had partaken of tea, and then, when His Highness was about to take his departure, Sir Richard expressed a wish to accompany him as far as Chadarghat. The two noblemen thought to themselves, that the Resident would sit next to His Highness, and they would have to sit in front of him, with folded hands, according to Royal etiquette. Amir-i-Kabir had the excuse of going separately in his carriage because he was ill, but the Minister had no such excuse to offer. The suggestion of the Moulvi that he and Captain Clerk should take their seats in the State carriage, with His Highness, was not favoured by the Minister ; and, to tell the truth, Shapurjee himself was perplexed over the question. But now the Minister spoke something in a whisper to Mustakim Jung, and so it happened that as His Highness was about to enter the State carriage, a horseman galloped up and said that the Begum Sahiba had been taken ill, and had summoned His Highness to attend on her. At that the two noblemen immediately took their seats in the carriage with His Highness, and drove away, while we followed pell-mell, going as fast as our horses could carry us.

Captain Clerk and Mr. Krohn now put forward a suggestion that His Highness should see a portion of his dominions.

JOURNEY TO GULBURGA*

Nawab Ikram ullah Khan, a " Rais " (one of the landed gentry of Kakori, a small town about 15 miles from Lucknow), was the deputy collector in the province of Oudh. He was a comely man, fond of the company of friends, whom he knew well how to entertain with his pleasant conversation and humorous stories. I remember a story which he related one evening when we were dining as usual with our uncle Mirza Abbas Beg. He was sitting on a chair opposite to us, and was engrossed in conversation, when all of a sudden his vein of humour came into play and he said :

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* *Gulburga.*—Traditional accounts relate that Gulburga was formerly a Hindu city of some importance, and was included in the Dominions of the Rajas of Warangal. It became the first capital of the Bahmini Kings in 1348 A.D., on its capture by the Muslims To-day it is a small town 104 miles east Hyderabad, and the

A Moulvi lived in the neighbourhood of a certain Sheik. The latter sent his servant for some grass, which he required for his horse, and when the servant conveyed the request the Moulvi replied in Persian, " My brother, I have not so much grass in my stables as to make a sparrow's nest."

So the man returned without the grass, in reply and to the Sheik's enquiry, said that, instead of giving grass, the Moulvi Sahib read an Ayyat "—(verse)—" from the Koran."

However the Deputy Collector having retired on pension, came to Hyderabad, and was honoured with the post of Suddar Talukdar, Gulburga division. He was a good administrator, and possessed a discriminating mind. Gulburga had fallen into ruins, but he took steps to put the town into a sanitary state and make other improvements, and in a short time he succeeded in making it a prosperous and populous town. He took special pains to put the Jama Musjid of the Kutb Shahi Kings and the tomb of Hazrat Khaja Bunday Navaz in proper repair, and a visit to these places was well worth the trouble.

His Excellency the Minister, therefore, resolved to take His Highness to Gulburga for a change, and also to visit the

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official head-quarters of a district of the same name, with a population of almost 36,000. It is two miles North of the G.I.P. Railway Station.

It is noted for its tombs, the most important of which is the shrine of Khawja Bunday Nawaz, who lived there in the fourteenth century, and whose shrine is the object of an annual pilgrimage. On the anniversary of the Saint, thousands of people from all parts of India assemble, and celebrate it with great éclat and pomp.

It also has a famous mosque in the fort ; and nearly every archæologist and antiquarian who has visited this place, has spoken in the highest praise of this great musjid, and pronounced it to be a superb structure and unique of its kind in India. It was built probably in 1365 A.D. by Mahomed Shah, the second Bahmini King. Fergusson has particularly mentioned it as one of the most remarkable of its class in India, the peculiarity of the building being that the courtyard is wholly covered by a roof with conical domes.

tomb of the Saint. Accordingly preparations for the journey were set on foot, and as this was His Highness's first tour, all the departments concerned were warned.

Nawab Kadir Jung, the Mir Manzil (Stage Master) and the Superintendent of camp furniture reached Gulburga and a camp was set up near the Railway Station ; and then, under the supervision of Nawab Ikram Ullah Khan, the whole camping-ground was turned into a flourishing garden—a model of the garden of Eden.

His Highness took up his residence in the Dak bungalow, and the noblemen had separate encampments for themselves at some distance from the Royal Camp. The lessons continued as usual at the appointed hours. His Highness would go out riding on a beautiful horse, attended by his staff and others of the Household for an airing in the morning, and in the evening he dined with the nobles.

One evening when the Minister, the Amir-i-Kabir and other nobles were in attendance, a vaporous cloud ascended the sky and it began to drizzle. His Highness was then on the verandah, and the nobles were standing below under the shade of some trees. I went forward and requested the Minister to come on the verandah, as the rain had commenced to descend. The Amir-i-Kabir stared hard at me, but the Minister smiled and said that that was the privilege of those like myself who attended on the person of the Highness, but as for themselves, they dare not go forward without being invited. Just then Mustakim Jung called out that all were commanded to come in. Such were the nobles, who maintained at all times the dignity of the Sovereign.

After this, a journey to Pattancheroo was undertaken ; and on every occasion the full paraphernalia of royalty was in evidence ; for, apart from the great nobles who accompanied His Highness with pomp befitting their status, the big and small Jemadars of the Nazm-i-Jamiath (Irregular Troops) were also there, with their retainers. The Roshan Chowkee (kettle-drum) went round in the nights according to old usage, and a diary was kept. I am sorry that I have no such diary before me as I am writing.

At this time a dispute was going on between Khurshed Jah and Bashir-ud-dowlah regarding certain duties (more or less honorary), as, for instance, the presentation of garlands of flowers, the presentation of a tray of " Totak " (a dish resembling curry puffs), and the holding of the Moorchal (a fan of peacock feathers held over His Highness while he sat on the Ambari, and at the Eed Durbars and on State occasions) ; and the Minister and the Resident were appointed arbitrators to decide the dispute. One day, in the afternoon, when I went to salute the Minister, a reference was made to this dispute during the conversation, and, as bad luck would have it, I said that the Nawab Khurshed Jah appeared to have the greater title to these offices. The Nawab looked hard at me and said petulantly, " Well, then, you had better decide the question. You are also his son's tutor."

JOURNEY TO AURANGABAD.

Two incidents on this journey deserve to be mentioned. The first one is this. The Sahib Alee Shan Bahadur (the Resident), while making a tour of the Dominions—against all established usage—reached Aurangabad, and it was resolved to invite him to a banquet. Mr. Krohn was of opinion that wine and liqueurs should be placed on the table, but none of the Amirs would agree to this. Argument gave place to obstinacy, the two European gentlemen insisting that either the invitations should be withdrawn or the guests provided with wine. At last they (the Europeans) won the day, and wine—goodness knows where it came from—was seen on the table.

All the accompanying noblemen were invited to the banquet. The Baday Sahib and the Chotay Sahib (the two sons of the Minister), Mohamed Ali Beg, and Riasat Ali, wore black coats and white cuffs and collars, and others were dressed in black Sherwanis. I had neither black cloth nor white cuffs and collars, but just my ordinary dress ; and I sat watching this new scene. The picture of the late Omdut-ul-Mulk stood before my mind's eye, and I was reminded of my interview, and of his Vasiyeth (wish).

His Highness was simply dressed ; and the Minister and the nobles were in their usual costumes.

In the meanwhile the European guests arrived in their uniforms, and then all sat down at the table together, and the corks from the bottles of wine flew around. Perhaps the spirit of Omdut-ul-Mulk hovered over the table, like the flight of a tumbler-pigeon, complaining of the changed times.

The second incident is the following. Mahdi Ali, who, like the other Diwani officials, was accompanying the Minister, went up to Captain Clerk and suggested that mere touring might not be so advantageous to His Highness as an inspection of some of the many offices, as the latter course might give His Highness some insight into administrative matters. Captain Clerk liked the idea so much, that, without loss of time, he secured the Minister's approval: and the next day several offices were inspected. So far there was nothing to quarrel about, but now Mahdi Ali went a step further, and won over Captain Clerk to his views, that he, Mahdi Ali should daily attend on his Highness, to explain procedure, etc. At this suggestion Masi-uz-Zaman and the Minister were taken by surprise, but Captain Clerk remained obdurate, although Masi-uz-Zaman advanced a reasonable argument that among subordinate officials (like a Talukdar or a Tahsildar) someone could be found to discharge this duty, and that there was no necessity of insisting on Mahdi Ali. While this argument was going on, I happened to go towards His Excellency's encampment, and apparently he saw me, because a chobdar (personal attendant) came to inform me that the Minister would like to see me. I accordingly went to his tent.

At first we conversed generally, and then His Excellency said that that tent was especially made, and had double accommodation. I agreed with him. He then referred to Captain Clerk's obduracy in all matters, and said that he, the Minister, was already being accused of not wishing his Royal Master to be educated. What was he to do—as the proverb goes, " To say or not to say is the question."

I replied that if His Excellency did not approve of the matter steps should be taken to avoid it ; and to that he said, " You know what ideas people had tried to instil in His Highness's mind against me, and, now, if one of my men were to have access to His Highness, he would try to gain influence and would not spare me either." He added that Mahdi Ali was continuously changing, like a chameleon and if he succeeded in getting there he would become as unmanageable as a hard-mouthed horse, and that Captain Clerk was not in a position to understand his, the Minister's, difficulty.

I suggested that Captain Clerk's obstinacy was on account of Masi-uz-Zaman, and that if he so wished Mr. Krohn and I would try to persuade him ; and His Excellency asked me to go and make a trial.

I rose and first went to Mr. Krohn. He flatly refused, and so I was left alone. Having thought over the situation carefully, I made my way to Captain Clerk's tent. I found him sitting doing nothing, and getting an opportunity, I opened the subject.

Captain Clerk spoke very highly of Mahdi Ali, and said that His Highness would benefit by such an able man's company. I said I agreed with him completely, but that Masi-uz-Zaman would not approve of it, and his objection was also worth considering. And I quoted a Persian couplet—" Have you managed earthly things so well as to cast your eyes on things ethereal." We had not, I went on, succeeded in imparting the elements of Urdu, Persian and English to His Highness, and that would handicap us the more.

Captain Clerk declared that I had always differed from him, to which I returned, that I was a friend of his and wished him no ill ; and I reminded him of Nazir Ahmed's case. If he, Nazir Ahmed, was a " Naturee " (one of those who based their faith on the laws of Nature rather than on orthodox Islam, the name being given, to distinguish English educated men of Aligarh from orthodox Muslims,) then Mahdi Ali was evidently the " Guru " (high priest) of this sect, and nobody could foresee the effect of this on the city.

Why then, asked Captain Clerk, did His Excellency approve of my proposal.

I replied that he did not sanction it, but was pleased to remain silent on account of his opponents' " Malafides." This was a religious matter, and the whole of the city would support Masi-uz-Zaman.

At this the Captain was put out, and said why did not His Excellency speak to him frankly on the subject before.

I suggested that it could even now be done, and requested him to see the Minister.

He then called out an inquiry as to whether Murtuza (his servant) was there and when the man appeared, he asked him to inform the Minister that he would like to see him. But I said that I was going that way, and would convey his message.

Then I went across to the Minister's and his Excellency was very pleased at the turn the affair had taken. Finally the matter was shelved, and Mahdi Ali avenged himself on Amin-ud-din Khan ; and the latter was of so proud a nature that he confined himself to his house, and never stepped out till he died. I had seen him hold his audiences with great éclat, and now I saw his corpse laid on a mat, his head resting on a soiled pillow. The poet* Sa'adi has it:

> " When the pure soul thinks of departing, then what matters dying on mother earth or on royal couch ? "

God grant salvation to him ! He was a good man of conservative views.

I might mention that my maternal uncle, Sahib Alam (a term to denote one of the Royal blood of Delhi), Mirza Jamal-ud-din Ghorghani, was the Darogah (manager) of the Doulatabad Fort. Disguised in name, dress and appearance, he came to me one night, and having introduced himself, embraced me. I was very sorry to see him in that plight, and wished to recommend him to the Minister, but he would not have it, as he preferred remaining unknown. He, however, pointed out a Mausoleum to me which belonged to my maternal grandmother. The building which was lofty, and situated in a spacious compound, was now used as a " Dak " bungalow. I spoke to His Excellency about it, and he promised to hand it over to me on his return to Hyderabad. Indeed, Mr. Mahdi Ali, the Revenue Secretary, received an order regarding it, but the topsy-turvydom that followed His Excellency's sudden demise, stayed further steps being taken in the matter.

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* *Sa'adi.*—The poetic name or nom-de-plume of the celebrated Persian Poet, whose proper name was Shaik Maslahuddin, or, according to other authorities, Sharf-ud-din Musla. He was born about A.D. 1194, and is supposed to have lived for more than a 100 years. Some writers say that he died in A.D. 1292. His best-known works are the " Gulistan " and " Boistan."

Anglicism was now becoming noticeable in the Royal Palace—this due to Agha Nasir Shah, Mir Riasat Ali and Mirza Mohamed Ali Beg. An English Jew, by name Badham Pile, had opened a tailoring shop in Secunderabad, and the above-mentioned gentleman and other scions of noble families flocking to his shop, orders for Sherwanis, with high collars and long cuffs of silk, tweed, etc., for evening suits, and riding-costumes, began to be placed, and new fashions in dress and cut came into vogue. Mr. Krohn brought over this merchant to the Royal Palace, and dresses of all kinds were ordered for His Highness. The low and bodiced "Angarakhas" and gold-embroidered caps were disappearing from the scene. The East and the West shook hands in the palace. On the one hand you had Masi-uz-Zaman and his group of palace servants, who dressed and conducted themselves as of old, and on the other, you saw the new generation with modern ideas as to dress, speech, conduct, etc. As the proverb says "All that is new is delicious." and the latter began to supersede the former.

Some of the greater nobles, however, remained staunch to their conservative ideas, as for instance H.E. the Minister, Bashir-ud-dowlah, Khurshed Jah, and the family of Vikar-ul-Umra, till the time of their death; and Badham Pile was not destined to invade their palaces.

Although the Minister disliked the onrush of this revolution, as regards himself and the person of His Highness, he could not stem the tide, and finally, soon after His Excellency's death, the Yagoog and the Magoog (Gog and Magog) broke loose from the mythical well and took possession of the country.

It will not be out of place for me to mention here some facts relating to social intercourse in the times of H.H. Nasir-ud-dowlah, which have reached me from several reliable sources.

It is known that this prince refused to accept the title of His Majesty; but he was not only completely adverse to Englishmen and English ways, but also totally disliked outsiders, whether they were from Bombay, Poona, or Madras, together with their dress and social conduct. However, if a Hindustani, and especially a Delhi man, visited Hyderabad, he favoured him, and he had issued a general order that none of the Amirs should go beyond the Chadarghat gate without his permission. Moreover, he had posted harkaras (peons) at every gate to watch those who entered or went outside the City; and had also given orders that no English article should be used, but only those manufactured in the country.

In all departments of State, paper made in Kagazipura was in general use, and dresses of " Neema-Jama " of the " Saylas " of Nander (a fine muslin hand-woven) were ordinarily worn. A nobleman once dared to attend the Durbar in a dress made of English muslin, which he had bought of a Bombay merchant, and His Highness noticing it, asked where he had got the cloth from. The poor man mentioned the name of Secunderabad. His Highness then said, " You have amassed a lot of money—you shall pay so much in fine, and confine yourself to your house till further orders."

I also heard this strange fact from His Excellency himself, namely that Nawab Nazir-ud-dowlah used to express a wish to pay his respects to the King of Delhi, whom he looked upon as his Suzerain.

THE DEATH OF THE AMIR-I-KABIR.

I have mentioned above that Nawab Amir-i-Kabir (Rashid-ud-din Khan) was ill with a fatal disease, but so long as he lived, he and the Moulvi (Masi-uz-Zaman) were a constant source of anxiety to the Minister both in palace affairs and in administrative matters, in which latter, Shapurjee worked with the Nawab Amir-i-Kabir; and matters came to such a pass at last, that a resort was made to the Court of Law.

Nawab Amir-i-Kabir, on the advice of Mr. Palmer, a Barrister, brought a suit against Mr. Knight the Editor of a Calcutta paper, which caused a sensation in India and England. Extraordinary stories and unbecoming reports were put in circulation against Sir Richard Meade, and began to be openly mentioned in English circles. But the truth was that these accusations (" Statesman," April 8th, 1884), were wrong and entirely groundless. Sir Richard and Lady Meade could not have been so mean and low, as to accept presents, nor could Nawab Amir-i-Kabir and Shapurjee have stooped to such undignified methods in order to attain success, but the supporters of the Minister gave such publicity to these matters, that they came to be known to English people far and near. The truth is that Sir Richard came in affluent circumstances, and left the Residency involved in debt.

Sir Stewart Bayley was now appointed to the Ambassador's chair at the Court of H.H. the Nizam. He was a just, enlightened, and well-known gentleman.

Amir-i-Kabir had passed away. Simple, but of a soldierly instinct, and a man of high ideals, he was the last of the noblemen of the type and times of Alamgir. During his prolonged illness, Shapurjee took him for change and treatment to Bombay. There the merchants who knew of his name and dignity, flocked to him, and he bought of each of them all that they had to sell, to the value of several lakhs of rupees, so that Shapurjee, getting anxious, spoke against such purchases. At this the Nawab was put out, and said, "Then why did you bring me here ? I am not one who will disgrace my name or that of my Sovereign. I do not wish it to be known that a servant of a great Ruler possessed the qualities of a miser."

These were the noblemen who looked to their reputation, and kept up the dignity of their Sovereign.

After the Amir's death, Shapurjee's star of influence and power began to wane, and by the appointment of Sir Stewart Bayley, H.E. the Minister began to breathe freely. He and the Resident worked together with heart and soul. The appointment of a Co-regent was not considered necessary, and Nawab Mukhtar-ul-Mulk became the one regent and sole ruler of these dominions. The dispute between the Paigah noblemen was easily settled with the help of Sir Stewart—otherwise both the claimants had mobilised their troops and artillery and my father-in-law, Nawab Fakhruddin Khan, on one side, and his uncle, Nawab Moinuddin Hassan Khan, on the other, were anxiously moving about, at the instance of the Minister, to bring about an understanding between the two nobles. Nawab Khurshed Jah received a knighthood, and the title of Shamshul-Umra, Amir-i-Kabir, and became entitled to a seat in the "Kavasi" and the "Morchal" (a seat at the back of the ruler on State occasions; and likewise Nawab Bashir-ud-dowlah received a knighthood with the titles of Asman Jah, Amir-i-Akbar (24th Mohurrum 1299), and succeeded to the office of presenting Totak, etc.

A decision was also reached with regard to the Berars, namely, that the Minister, in his capacity as servant, could not re-open the question, which must be kept in abeyance till His Highness attained his majority. That the Berar was handed over to the British Government, in payment of the expense of the Contingent, was due to the mistake of Raja Chandoo Lal and the negligence of Nawab Siraj-ul-Mulk (uncle of Sir Salar Jung I). Mukhtar-ul-Mulk tried to wash away this stain, and undertook the journey to England, but returned unsuccessful.

A strange procedure was now adopted to decide the question of suzerainty. H.E. the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, held a Durbar to celebrate the assumption of the title of Kaiser-i-Hind by the great Queen Victoria, who had, it was alleged, taken the place of the Mughal Kings of Delhi. The ruling chiefs, including H.H. the Nizam and all the nobility of the country, were invited to attend the Durbar to establish this claim. Omdut-ul-Mulk had died, and also the Baday Begum Sahiba (grandmother of His Highness) had passed away, and so the Minister had not their assistance in putting forward, with any hope of success, the excuse that His Highness had never gone out of his Dominions. Accordingly preparations for the journey to Delhi were set on foot. The "Koolcha"* of Inayat Shah were brought forth; the Nakkera (drum) of the Sidee Derwish was put in order; a regiment of Sappers and Miners was formed; and Kadir Jung, the Mir-i-Munzil, who was the hereditary holder of this office, together with Nawab Jahandar Khan, Superintendent of Tents, and the Superintendent of Camp, left for Delhi.

A programme of the journey from Hyderabad to Delhi, including stoppages on the way, was then prepared, and elephants, horses and carriages, together with Superintendents of the Departments of the Royal household, were sent ahead.

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* *Koolcha* is a round piece of bread still shown on the Royal Standard of Hyderabad. It was given to the first Asaf Jah, when he was on his way to take up the Governorship of the Deccan, by the Saint Inayat Shah. Success attended his arms and since then the device has been borne on the Royal Standard.

From the army, the African Cavalry Guards, the Myseram Regiment, and a portion of Colonel Nevill's Regular Troops, were selected for an escort together with Mukadum Jung, Barak Jung, Ghalib Jung, and Sultan Nawaz Jung, with a posse of Arabs. The Paigah nobles, with companies of their troops, also accompanied the Royal Party.

The Mir Munzil and the Superintendents had in the meanwhile decorated the Royal Camp with trees, plants and light, in the old (Moglai) style ; and at reasonable distances from the Royal camp, other camps were prepared to receive the nobles, Amir-i-Kabir, etc., according to their ranks. Especial attention was given to cloak rooms, kitchens, and stabling-yards.

With all these arrangements completed the Mir Munzil and the Superintendents of the Royal household awaited the Royal entry into the Camp, and at every place post and telegraph offices were opened, with the sanction of the British Government.

With such Royal preparations made, His Highness left Hyderabad, with the Mahallat and Nobles, and reached Poona, where a wealthy Parsee Dastoor ("Dastoor" denotes a priest) entertained His Highness with pomp and ceremony for three days. Food, fruits, tea, etc., were supplied at meal-times by the servants of the Dastoor, to all who accompanied His Highness, from Nobles downwards, according to their rank.

The Minister paid back the compliment on a lavish and befitting scale.

From Poona the Royal party left by train, and by stages reached Jubbulpore. At every stage a stop was made for resting for two days, and the British officials, like the Commissioner or the Deputy Commissioner, waited on His Highness, and took the necessary precautions for the safety of the Camp. They also arranged a sight-seeing trip to the Parainda Ghat.

From here the Royal party proceeded to Agra where visits to the Taj Mahal and Fort were made.*

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* *Agra.*—Akbar began the works of the fort of Agra in A.D. 1564-5. The palaces and the Taj were designed by Mohammad Esa Ustad Effendi " Nadir-ul-Asr," and there is no reason to suppose

An unjust historian has, in order to decry the artizans of India, written that the Taj Mausoleum is the result of European intellectualism, but it is well known that it is the work of Indian workmen.

A tunnel, lighted, and spacious enough to admit two horsemen, side by side, extends from the fort of Shahjehanabad to the Fort at Agra and thence to the Fort of Allahabad.

From Agra we proceeded to Delhi, the capital of the Moghul Emperors. All the British officials were present at the station with troops, colours and bands, to receive

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that Austin de Bordeaux had anything to do with the Taj, as some Europeans, including Tavernier (1-108 Tr. Ball), suppose. For a summary of the controversy concerning the alleged share of Geronimo Verones in the design of the Taj, see H. F. A. 1911 (pages 416-418). The real fact, however, is that no European had any share in its design or construction.

Tavernier only says, " Shah Jehan had intended to cover the arch of a great gallery which is on the right-hand, with silver and a Frenchman named Austin de Bordeaux was to have done the work. But the Great Mogul, seeing that there was no one in his kingdom who was more capable to send to Goa to negotiate an affair with the Portuguese, the work was not done, for, as the ability of Austin was feared, he was poisoned on his return from Cochin." (Tr. Ball Vol. I, page 108).

The Palace in the fort is a magnificent building constructed by Shah Jehan within fortifications raised by Akbar. The best account is the article by Nur Bux, entitled " The Agra Fort and its Building," in A. S. Ann. Ref., 1903-1904, pages 164-193.

The Marquis of Hastings, when Governor-General of India, broke up one of the most beautiful marble baths of this palace to send home to George IV of England, when the latter was Prince Regent ; and the rest of the marble of the suite of apartments from which it had been taken, with all its exquisite frontwork and mosaic, was afterwards sold by auction on account of the British Government, by order of the then Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck Had these things fetched the price expected, it is probable that the whole of the Palace, and even the Taj itself, would have been pulled down and sold in the like manner. *Vide* Fergusson's indignant protests (" History of Indian and Eastern Architecture," Edition 1910, Vol. 2, page 312, etc.)

The credit of the modern policy of reverence for the ancient monuments is due to Lord Curzon more than to any one else.

I may here refer to the conversation which Major-General Sleeman had with an Indian boatman on his visit to the tomb of Itimad-ud-dowlah, as it brings out very clearly the truth of the author's statement regarding the feelings with which Europeans look upon Indian architecture, and ancient buildings.

In reply to a remark of the General, the boatman said, " The

the Ruler of the Deccan. The Viceroy did not himself come to the station, but instead, deputed one of his staff. However, the terminology of the word Suzerain thus became effective.

To write in detail all the facts in connexion with visits to the city and to the tombs of the Saints, and with meetings between the great chiefs, is beyond my object and unnecessary.

H.E. the Viceroy paid a visit to the Royal Camp, and on that day a durbar was held on similar lines to those already mentioned.

H.E. the Minister introduced my uncle, Mirza Abbas Beg, the Jagirdar of Badagaon, to His Highness the Nizam.

Subsequently the Minister wished to present a Khillat and some jewellery to my uncle which he could not possibly accept without the sanction of the British Government, and he did not think it advisable to proceed in the matter.

My maternal uncle, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, refused to put on the " Dastar " and the belt, and wished to be introduced, dressed in Turkish cap, black coat and trousers ; but the Minister would not agree to break through the old-established procedure, and instead of him, it was finally decided to introduce another uncle of mine, Moulvi Sami-Ullah Khan, a representative of Mufti Sadr-ud-din Khan, on behalf of the Aligarh College. The Moulvi was well-known throughout India as an authority on Muslim religious law.

He had previously met the Minister in a strange manner. In the days when His Excellency was touring in India, he had visited many places, and had gone also to Agra. There was a High Court in the city in those days, and the chief Justice, to show off his dignity and the procedure of His Court, invited the Minister there, and

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European gentlemen who now govern, seem to have no pleasure in building anything but factories, Courts of Justice and jails." The General gives vent to his feelings in these words : " Feeling as an Englishman, as we all must sometimes do, be where we will, I could hardly help wishing that the beautiful panels and pillars of the bathroom had fetched a better price, and that the palace, Taj, and all at Agra, had gone to the hammer, for so sadly do they exalt the past at the expense of the present in the imaginations of the people."—(*Vide* page 326, Sleeman's " Rambles and Recollections.")

heard a case before him, which was argued on the one side by Mr. Sami-Ullah Khan, and on the other side by a "pundit," whose name was Ajudhyanath. The two learned pleaders argued the case in Urdu with such elegance that His Excellency invited them both to enter his service, but this they declined. The pundit became the founder of the Great Indian National Congress—and a source of great anxiety to the British officials—and the Moulvi Sahib, on his part, became one of the founders of the college in Aligarh, which is known as the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College.*

We returned safely from Delhi to Hyderabad.

Till now the administration had been carried on, on the principle of educating the people of the country in such a way as to secure their co-operation and help in the administration. For this purpose, a college for Urdu, Persian and Arabic was founded; and also a medical school was opened under the auspices of the Residency Surgeon, in which instruction was imparted in Urdu, the successful alumni being posted to Civil Dispensaries in the Districts. Further, it was thought proper to send sons of Mansabdars and scions of nobility to complete their education in England.—In these days the words "mulki" and "ghair-mulki" were not coined, and Hindus and Muslims from Punjab, Oudh and other parts of India were looked upon as countrymen and brothers.—Accordingly, Syed Ali Bilgrami and Mirza Mehdi Khan Irani were the first to be sent to England. Mir Davar Ali's selection was also made. Moreover, the Hindus of the place selected brides and bridegrooms for their sons and daughters from different provinces of India, and had their hereditary rights transferred to them.—Maharaja Narinder's son-in-law, Raja Hari Kishen, the father of Maharaja Kishen Pershad, is an instance in point.

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* It is not generally known that the word "Mohammedan," as used in Europe in respect of Muslims, is a term of contempt that causes misconception in the minds of the general public, it having been coined by the missionaries in order that the public, and especially the female section of it, should believe that the Mussulmans had deified Mohamed, as the Roman Catholics do in respect of Christ, in order to set up the belief that it is the duty of every individual Christian to displace the false God, and instead, enthrone the true one. Therefore I think that the Indian Muslims ought to petition the Government of India, asking that, as the Prophet Ebrahim gave them the appellation of Mussulmans, the word "Mohammedan" should be effaced, and that the Government should use only the word "Mussulman" in their official correspondence. The result of this would be that the enlightened British officials would then use the word "Mussulman" in both their speech and correspondence. We need not worry about the common people, nor about the Press in so far as it is represented by such papers as the "Pioneer"—they could write what they like. We have the example of the Anglo-Indian community before us.

The men from Madras occupied high positions under such noblemen as Nawab Bashir-ud-dowlah, Mukram-ud-dowlah, Shahab Jung and Shumshir Jung.

Similarly in the Nazm-i-Jamiath (Irregular Troops) large numbers of Rajputana Pathans were found honoured with high posts, but now things changed and men from Northern India—very often on the recommendation of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan—began to be employed in the departments of the State. Prominent among these were Moulvi Mehdi Ali, Nawab Ikram Ullah Khan of Kakori Nawab Fida Hussain Khan, and later, Moulvi Mushtak Hussain. Immediately on their arrival they were honoured with high appointments, and very soon, constituting themselves as advisers to H.E. the Minister, they got the upper hand of the Madrassis. Then breaking through the old principles as will be mentioned further on, they secured such influence and control over the administration that—the Minister aside—the powers of His Highness were encroached upon.

H.E. the Minister had himself witnessed the behaviour of Mehdi Ali and was determined to relieve some of these gentlemen. With this object in view His Excellency sought Sir Stewart's advice, for Amir-i-Kabir Rashid-ud-din Khan had passed away and Sir Richard had retired, the policy of the whole administration had rested with him, and he resolved to prepare new schemes of administration with the leaven of Islamic principles—in other words, to draw up a constitution for the State. Sir Stewart Bayley placed before him a few names of the gentlemen of Bengal, as for instance, Moulvi Dalil-ud-din and Moulvi Karim-ud-din Khan, were men of good family, learned and straightforward, and their introduction brought credit on the State.

The Minister's relations with the Government of India were now secure, and as he wished to go to Simla to consult H. E. the Viceroy on some important matters, he left entrusting the administration to Maharaja Narinder Pershad Bahadur.

The day he returned from his journey, His Highness, who was then in residence at Maula Ali, went out for a drive as far as the Lingampalli Gardens. He went in a landau, in which the Moulvi and I occupied seats opposite him, while the other attendants followed in different carriages ; and it so happened that, as we drove along, the Minister, as he proceeded from the station, came up in the opposite direction. We met just by the gate of the garden. His Excellency, immediately descending from his carriage, made the seven prescribed salutations, while His Highness's coach also stopped to accept the same. Then, on the spur of the moment (I cannot assign any reason for my action), I suggested that, as the Minister was going to his camp at Maula Ali, His Highness should take him, his loyal servant and Minister, along with him, and that we, the Moulvi and I, should alight. The Moulvi disliked the suggestion and tried to dissuade me from it, but, without losing a moment, I called out to the Minister that His Highness desired his presence. The Moulvi was now obliged to descend, and the Minister, in spite of his lameness, came quickly forward, smiling and glad, and, having saluted again, entered the coach. Then, taking the seat opposite His Highness, he sat down with folded hands.

The Moulvi and I of course remained standing, and then His Excellency, with great politeness, asked us to get into his own carriage.

It may be said here that the aversion which His Highness had felt towards his Minister during the time of Amir-i-Kabir and Sir Richard, was gradually lessening, and that the influence of Masi-uz-Zaman was likewise on the wane.

With this sudden inspiration of mine, the Minister was so pleased, that, in the evening, he sent for me and lavishly praised me, observing that he would always remember my services, and would, at the termination of my tutorial duties, bestow a jagir on me. He also detained me to take dinner with him that evening.

At this time, a gentleman by the name of Mr. Jones was appointed as Resident. He was a lover of justice and a man of great determination.

Although Captain Clerk still worried both Mr. Krohn and me, we now occupied ourselves with the work of education with complete satisfaction.

Also His Highness was approaching the age of discretion, and was beginning to feel the power of his position as ruler ; and at the same time he was beginning to appreciate the humble writer, and not only evinced affection towards him, but honoured him with favours of all kinds.

A brief account of a suggestion put forward during Sir Stewart Bayley's time, for a visit to England, deserves a hearing. One day Captain Clerk said that he would take the lessons of the day by himself, without requiring the presence of Mr. Krohn and myself, and accordingly we descended to our rooms below, leaving the Captain with His Highness and Zuffer Jung.

After a short time, my servant Rahim Baksh, came running to me, and said that Captain Sahib wanted to see me.

I went upstairs, and Captain Clerk, shewing me a letter addressed to the Resident in His Highness's handwriting, said, " What a nice letter His Highness has written of his own accord ! "

I read the letter over, and after lavishing praises on it, laughingly added that His Highness had written it better than I could, and that the composition of it was as good as the Captain's.

Captain Clerk then asked me to get a similar letter composed in Urdu, for the Prime Minister. Accordingly I began to dictate, while His Highness wrote, and when we had finished it, the Captain, summoning a " chobdar," sent the letter to the Minister.

So far His Highness and I were completely in the dark, and believed that this letter-writing was in order for the Resident to know what progress had been made in His Highness's education.

The Minister summoned me the next day, and asked me why I had got that letter written ; and I informed him of what had happened. He drew a deep sigh, and said, " It were better he had died before this," and then enquired what could be done now to get the opinion reversed. I suggested that that was within his power.

" No," he replied, " this letter in the hands of the Government of India will be like a coco-nut in the hands of a monkey," and that the visit to England could not be stopped. He regretted that all his schemes for the administration would remain in abeyance and his wish unrealized in his heart. As the poet says,

> " Oh the many wishes that were blighted ! "

Who knew what might happen after the return from England, and what luck had in store for him ?

I remember that the Minister wrote in a similar strain to his Parsee servant, who was his confidant, and at one time his Secretary. That letter may still be in the possession of that aged Parsee's children. Now preparations for the journey, on a scale similar to those for the King of Persia or the Sultan of Turkey were contemplated.

And now see how the will of Providence plays with the destiny of men. H.E. the Minister, like other world-famous men, knew the movements of the stars, and had faith in Astrology and " Rummal," and men like Gulab Shah, of the Punjab and Gothsi Pandit were employed by him ; and these men also had their time and day for salutation fixed. One night, when it was the turn of Mohan Lal, the Pundit (who had been employed on my recommendation), to be present, His Excellency, after affixing his signature to the papers of Pattapi Rama Rao, the accountant, issuing urgent orders, and attending to the correspondence—in other words, having finished that day's work—accorded an interview to the Pundit, and asked him to draw up the horoscope of the hour. The Pundit, as was the custom of men of his profession, drew up the horoscope, showing prosperity and success, and His Excellency, having looked into it, smiled and said, " Panditjee the compartment reserved for life is vacant "—or words to that effect.

The Pundit tried to pass the matter off, and then, being allowed to depart, came direct to me as fast as his legs could carry him, and informed me of the incident.

I was angry with him, because for a little matter like that, he had spoilt my rest ; but he said, " I wish to God that my horoscope were wrong ! "

In the morning I went as usual to the Purana Haveli

Palace, and Captain Clerk and Mr. Krohn also came. His Highness was still asleep, and the Mansabdars were on the watch.

And then Tippu Khan, broken-hearted, with dishevelled hair, eyes dripping with tears, and sighing aloud, came in hurriedly, and said that His Highness should be awakened and informed that his loyal and devoted Minister had passed away. Captain Clerk looked anxiously at me, and I caught hold of Tippu Khan's hand and asked him to take breathing time and state the facts.

He then began to cry aloud, and to ask us to inform His Highness quickly. Accordingly I awoke His Highness. He got up rubbing his eyes, and then, when he had descended below, Tippu Khan informed him of all that had taken place during the night, adding that Doctors and Hakims were all present, but nothing could avail.

His Highness then asked me to go and bring back a full report.

I got into Captain Clerk's carriage and reached His Excellency's palace. As I stepped into the room, Hakim Baker Ali Khan came out weeping, and on my questioning him, said, " You go yourself and see. The unfortunate doctor hastened the end, and, in spite of our advice and before we could stop him, gave His Excellency soup to drink."

I went inside and there was the great Minister, lying stiff and stark on the bed ; and I received a shock when I looked into his face, and retraced my steps. Both his sons were calling aloud, " Oh Father ! Oh Father ! " and the whole place inside and outside top and below was one scene of lamentation and sorrow. It suggested to one the day of Judgment. I tried to console the Sahibzadas, but that was not the time for them to be influenced by my consolatory remarks.

Then I returned to the Royal Palace. Captain Clerk and and Mr. Krohn also cried, and tears dropped from the eyes of His Highness. Captain Clerk and Mr. Krohn now took their departure, and Masi-uz-Zaman Khan and the great nobles, Sir Khurshed Jah, Asman Jah, Vikar-ul-Umra, and Maharaja Peshkar, presented themselves at the palace. There a state of silence prevailed.

In the meantime, Major Gough, Captain Clerk and Mr

Syed Husain Bilgrami went to Mr. Jones*, and requested him that he at once should proclaim that Laik Ali Khan, the late Minister's eldest son, was appointed in his father's place, as of right—otherwise there was danger of a breach of the peace.

But Mr. Jones was very much put out at this, and said, " One of you is a Hindustani Perdasi, another a clerk in the office, and you "—referring to Captain Clerk—" are a tutor. You people are not entitled to interfere in political affairs, nor have you a right to speak to me in such matters. Go away—and if I hear that you are encouraging intrigue, it will not be well for you. And you, Captain Clerk, in the capacity of a tutor, have only to concern yourself with teaching, and if I hear that you spoke to His Highness in regard to this question of the appointment of a Minister, I shall suspend you." The three gentlemen returned shamefacedly.

Then Mr. Jones paid a visit to the Minister's palace, to condole with the ladies and the late Minister's sons ; and from there he went direct to the Purana Haveli Palace and condoled with His Highness in very sorrowful words at the loss of a devoted, loyal and far-sighted Minister.†

After that he summoned Maharaja Peshkar, Sir Khurshed Jah and Asman Jah to the Residency, and till a permenent arrangement could be arrived at, made Maharaja Peshkar, who was old and had served as a partner with the late Minister, responsible for the peace of the city and administration of the State.‡

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* Resident from 3rd July, 1882, to April, 1883.

† 30th Rabi-us-sani, 1303 H.

‡ I may here mention that at that time Mr. Baring (afterwards Lord Cromer of Egypt), the financial Minister of the Government of India, was staying at Hyderabad as the guest of His Excellency the Minister, and also a European Prince was on a visit to Hyderabad ; and His Excellency had entertained both these honoured guests with his usual hearty hospitality. On the morning prior to his death, he took a hasty breakfast with them, and then took them out to the Mir Alam Tank, where everything was provided on a lavish scale.

After returning from the Tank, he came to the Royal palace. His Highness was then in the zenana, and I was standing alone on the Afzal Mahal platform ; and I enquired if His Excellency wished to see His Highness. He replied that he had no thought of troubling His Highness but—and he pointed to some marble tables of excellent workmanship—he would be glad if I would present them to

While this was going on, I, as usual, at the appointed time called on Mr. Jones. He looked annoyed, and asked what right had the tutors to interfere in administrative matters.—" When I had warned Captain Clerk, Moulvi Masi-uz-Zaman Khan came to me on behalf of Asman Jah and Vikar-ul-Umra. Now, on whose behalf have you come ? " I replied that I had come to see him, as was usual with me ; and he then said that if he heard that the tutors interfered in such matters, he would turn them out.

His Highness. He was then hale and hearty, and in the pink of health.

In the evening he dined with his guests. Then, it is said, later, a lady relation of his sent him a dainty dish of which he was very fond, and, as bad luck would have it, he could not restrain himself from partaking of it, with the result that he had an attack of indigestion, which developed into something more serious.

It will not be out of place or uninteresting to refer to the conversation which Mr. Wilfred Scawen Blunt had with Mademoiselle Gaignaud, Salar Jung's French Governess, with regard to the character of Sir Salar Jung I, and the cause of his tragic death.—(*Vide* " India under Ripon," pages 200-201).

She says that Sir Salar Jung was the best and noblest of men, and that he never said an unkind word or did a dishonest action in his life. All, even his enemies, respected him ; and the old Amir-i-Kabir, the bitterest enemy of them all, sent for him on his death-bed, and recommended his sons to his care.

She says, further, that she had no doubt in the world that the Minister was poisoned. He had not complained of anything till late on Wednesday evening, the evening of the water-party at the Mir Alum Tank, and he died at a quarter past seven on Thursday. On Tuesday he had dined at the Residency.

The symptoms were not those of cholera. There was no vomiting, except such as he himself caused, by putting his fingers down his throat ; he complained only of a burning in his throat and chest, and great thirst ; and after death his colour remained unchanged. Of the two English doctors, Beaumont, one, said it was cholera, and the other said it was not ; but no post-mortem examination was made.

Mlle. Gaignaud draws a fearful scene of the confusion in the Zenana on the occasion, and also of the old Minister being plied with potions mixed by two holy men, who wrote words in Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit on leaves, of which they then made an infusion ; and she states that the English doctors were only called in when there was no more hope.

A crowd of women, friends and relations—eight hundred of them—had collected in the house, and when they heard of the Minister's death—for he died in the outer part of the house—they shrieked and cursed and screamed and rolled upon the floor, tearing their clothes, breaking their bracelets and behaving like mad creatures ; and nobody fully recovered their senses for a week.

With the policy and administration of the State entrusted to Maharaja Peshkar, there arose in the hearts of self-interested officials such an imaginary fear, that—fanciful though it was—they fell to thinking deeply of their safety.

They resorted to intrigue and machinations, not only to save themselves, but also to further their ambitious motives; and these conditions prevailed right up to the the end of the régimé of H.H. the late Nizam (of heavenly abode). The powerful Minister had in the space of a night passed away, and in his place there stepped in an aged and bowed man, with fossilised ideas of the past, who could easily be cornered.

The gates of the Residency were thrown open to these intriguers, Mr. Jones, the Resident, being himself a newcomer. With the exception of Sir Khurshed Jah, the other nobles were without much education and experience, and everyone felt encouraged to grind his own axe and seek his own personal gain.

Masi-uz-Zaman Khan was the first of the Palace servants to make a move. He was the Chief of the Persian tutors, and also gave lessons on the Holy Koran, and, as such, he believed he had acquired sufficient influence over His Highness. It happened that Samsam-ud-dowlah, the uncle of H.H. the late Afzul-ud-dowlah—in other words, a grandfather of His Highness—passed away quite suddenly leaving an estate comprising troops, and of these the Moulvi coveted 500 horsemen for himself, and pressed on the Maharaja to issue orders accordingly.* But the Maharaja, though outwardly courteous to all, was a strict observer of rules and regulations, and a man of determination, and so he told the Moulvi that the matter was beyond his powers, and that he should obtain orders from His Highness. The Moulvi was much annoyed and wanted to force the Maharaja's hand. On the other hand, a cry was raised in the Royal Mahallat—for His Highness was informed of all that was taking place—as to what this rapacity and loot meant, so soon after the death of the Minister.

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* 500 *Horse.*—*Vide* Sannad published in the biography of Moulvi Masih-uz-Zaman Khan Hayath-a-Masih, by Munshi Muzaffer Hussan Khan Sulimani, page 79; also on pages 53-55 concerning the Moulvi's endeavours and ambition to secure a jaghir, and the correspondence between Captain Clerk and Sir Salar Jung I regarding this. This correspondence brings into relief the self-seeking and ambitious character of Moulvi Masih-uz-Zaman Khan.—(" Hayath-a-Masih," by Munshi Muzaffer Hussan Khan Sulimani.)

The Maharaja tried to draw me in, but I kept out, because the Moulvi had already won over Captain Clerk. I, however, advised the Maharaja to consult His Highness over this matter, and he did so. At this the Moulvi got into a great temper, and while giving lessons used threats to His Highness, and the word " Nashudnee " (a Persian appellation, akin to abuse, meaning " It were better you had not been born ") fell from his mouth.

His Highness closed his book, and, with tears dropping from his eyes, rose and walked out of the class-room. The attendants and His Highness's companions, when they saw this, immediately collected around him, and His Highness said that he would not take his lessons from the Moulvi ; but nearly all of the staff supported the Moulvi as they expected favours and preferment from him. There were, however, two exceptions ; one was Mohamed Ali Beg who like myself, had always been disliked by Masi-uz-Zaman, and the other, Mir Riasat Ali, who had hereditary relations with the family of the Minister. These two agreed with His Highness, but the rest made continued overtures on behalf of the Moulvi.

In the meantime, Saadat Ali Khan, a son of the late Minister, arrived on the scene, and not only supported His Highness, but suggested punishment for the Moulvi. The thoughts of these two then turned towards me, and a decision was reached that Agha Mirza Beg (that is I) should be sent for. It was in the afternoon that this disagreeable affair took place, and consultations lasted till past midnight.

In those days I was staying in some Government buildings, with my family, for change of air, at Sarurnagar, and it was as late as 2 a.m. that a horseman galloped up with a letter, which was either written by Mohamed Ali Beg or Mir Riasat Ali, commanding that I should at once attend.

I immediately drove to Purana Haveli, anxious and worried, and when I arrived at the palace, a strange sight presented itself to my eyes. On one side of the Dalan (covered verandah) the Moulvi was seated with his sup-

porters, and on the other was His Highness, surrounded by the sons of nobles and his two advisers. Moin-ud-din, the Moulvi's man as he saw me, was the first to run up and say to me in Persian, the respect for the tutors had gone and the next moment Nawab Zuffer Jung turned up and said, " Hazrat, come quickly ! His Highness is weeping."

Very much perturbed, I ran forward and enquired what had happened, and then was told the whole story.

I humbly requested His Highness to ease his mind, telling him that the matter was a trivial one, which would easily be attended to ; and I added that, as morning had dawned, His Highness should take a wash and remain happy. My request had the desired consolatory effect.

I was then asked my opinion as to the course to be adopted, and in reply, I humbly suggested that His Highness's nobles, who did not hesitate to sacrifice their lives for him, would make the necessary arrangements. On that I was immediately commanded to fetch the nobles but I said that, while I was ready to obey the command, as I and the Moulvi were fellow tutors, my action might be misconstrued.

I was then ordered to fetch Maharaja Peshkar, and Zuffer Jung to call his father, Sir Khurshed Jah, Mir Saadat Ali Khan, his elder brother Nawab Laik Ali Khan; these three nobles duly arrived.

Maharaja Peshkar and Nawab Kurshed Jah were nobles of the old type, and worshipped their Sovereign ; and Mir Laik Ali Khan, though of excitable temper, was a courageous young nobleman.

The three of them, having heard the facts, deeply sympathised with His Highness, and gave orders that the Moulvi's lessons should cease immediately till further orders.

Just then Captain Clerk and Mr. Krohn came in. The latter sympathised fully with His Highness, but the former was very much put out, and saying that all matters connected with the education were entrusted to him, asked what right had the nobles to interfere with them.

The nobles in their turn, grew angry, and Nawab Khurshed Jah reminded the Captain that he was a mere servant, and that it was improper for him to speak such words in his presence, and that but for fear of the matter being complicated, he would suspend him for giving utterance to such remarks.

Captain Clerk was perhaps reminded of Mr. Jones's warning to him for he quickly retired to his chamber, and then sending for me and Mr. Krohn, said that our honour was in jeopardy,—" How can we now keep His Highness under control ? " he asked, and added that it was necessary for three of us to support the Moulvi. But Mr. Krohn turned his back, and, saying that it was not his business, walked out of the room.

The Captain then caught hold of me, and said that I must go and explain matters to His Highness—otherwise he would resign.

I asked him to go with me saying that I would then explain to His Highness whatever he wished. On this he grew warmer, and said, " You expect to become His Highness's Secretary, but, remember, you will be the first to suffer."

In the meantime, Laik Ali Khan had announced to the nobles that they should attend the palace on a certain day and at a certain time, to deliberate over the question of the Moulvi's punishment, and to make fresh arrangements for the office vacated by him.

Captain Clerk advanced his claim to be present, but the nobles unanimously rejected his application. However on my pointing out that their refusal in this respect might enable the Captain to prolong the dispute, and finally have it sent up to the Government of India, in which case he would be bound to appeal* with the result that the Government would never agree to the dismissal, they gave way, and the Captain was present at, and took part in, the deliberations on the date named.

Nawab Laik Ali Khan, KhurshedJah and Maharaja Peshkar unanimously decided that the Moulvi† should be deported from the city within 24 hours, and that the Maharaja should issue a decent pension for him.‡ Captain Clerk and Asman Jah disagreed but were forced to acknowledge the decision of the majority of the Council.

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* Vide *Deccan Times*, 23rd Oct., 1883.

† 7th Mohurrum, 1301 H (1883).

‡ *The dismissal of Moulvi Masih-uz-Zaman Khan.*—The decision of the Council of Regency dated 7th Shaaban 1301 H., the fourth article of which runs as follows : Raja Narinder Bahadur proposed the dismissal of Moulvi Masih-uz-Zaman Khan in the Council, and Nawab Khurshed Jah agreeing with him, the proposal was

A second matter that was also decided by the majority was this, that Agha Mirza Beg (myself), apart from his present duties, should at once be honoured with all the offices which the Moulvi held* ; and that in respect of this extra work, the Maharaja Peshkar should arrange for an increase in his salary.

With these arrangements made, the palace enjoyed immunity from intrigue, till the termination of His Highness's education, Mr. Krohn, in his English branch, and Moulvi Anwar-Ullah Khan, Moulvi Ashraf Ali and I, in the Hindustani Branch, working with perfect contentment.

I ordered Moulvi Anwar-Ullah Khan to lead us in prayer early every morning, before the English lessons began. After Zohur (afternoon) prayers, I and Ashraf Ali took the Holy Koran, reading it one day with the translation of Shah Rafiuddin, and on the next, with the translation of Shah Abdul Kader. Further I stopped the Persian lesson for the time being, and, instead took up Urdu till 4 p.m. (Assur time) ; and then after the Urdu lessons, an hour was given to copy writing. Nawab Zuffer Jung took a share in this, and occasionally Nawab Saadat Ali Khan also joined.

The interference of the bigger nobles after the death of Amir-i-Kabir Rashid-ud-din Khan had disappeared, and to tell the truth, Maharaja Peshkar and Sir Khurshed Jah helped me in every way in the management of the Royal Palace.

Nawab Laik Ali Khan also did so for some time, but then, on incitement by certain gentlemen, in which Mohamed Ali Beg and Riasat Ali Khan took a great part he began to look upon me as his adversary, and one who

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accepted by the Council.—*Vide* Biography (" Hiyath-a-Masih ") by Munshi Muzaffer Hussan Khan Sulimani, page 82. He received a pension of Rs 400/- per month, and his family continued to receive Rs 800 per mensem between them, besides Rs 500/- for the upkeep of his martyred brother's tomb. In all, the Moulvi, to the time of his death, which took place on the 13th Zilhaja 1328 H. (17th December, 1910 A.D.), received Rs 1800. The full particulars of the Moulvi's emoluments are given on page 76 of his biography (" Hiyath-a-Masih ") by Munshi Muzaffer Hussan Khan Sulimani.

* 3rd Ramzan, 1300 H (1882).

was a well-wisher of the Maharaja Bahadur. To my misfortune, therefore, I again had to face difficulties, but they were of a personal character and did not affect my duties, and I had the fullest opportunity to look after the education of His Highness and the progress he made.

This was the state of affairs at the palace and of His Highness's education after the death of the sagacious and far-sighted Minister ; but with regard to State matters, strange tribulations now arose.

Syed Abdul Huq, who was known as Sirdar Diler Jung, first came into prominence. He was, as his title suggested, a man of pushing character, and having held out hopes of favour to Mehdi Ali and Syed Hussain Bilgrami, he succeeded through Mr. Trevor, an official, in securing the support of the Resident, Mr. Cordery. By this means he scored a success in matters relating to the Railway, and became a very rich man, but to all those who had helped him and to whom he had held out hopes, he did not pay a penny. The truth is that he was honest, and a devoted servant of the King and country ; and whatever he earned was not the State money.* In fact, he was the first Indian who looted the London market and he was so far-sighted and wise, especially in financial matters, that his extraordinary success made Englishmen and Indians so jealous of him that they became his enemies. And finally the latter got an opportunity to dismiss him from the State Service, and the shock of this was so great, that he could not survive it for shame.

Now various groups were formed, from the nobility to the lowest officials, to gain their particular object, and virulent attacks began to be made on the Maharaja Peshkar, the aged and loyal servant of the State, who was temporarily responsible for the administration—and he almost became disgusted with his life.† Think of it—an old and infirm man carrying such a heavy burden on his head, that he has to use both of his hands to stop it from falling, while at the same time, when he has neither the power of defending himself or of freeing himself from the burden on his head, there stand around him a few dacoits, one of whom is pulling at his garment, another is tearing at his collar, and yet a third is standing behind him with a dagger!

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* See *Bombay Gazette* of June 13th, 1883, giving the opinion of Mr. Jones (at that date recently the Resident at Hyderabad) and of Sir Owen Burne of Abdul Huq's honesty of purpose.

† See *Bombay Gazette* of April 25th, 1884.

Likewise some clever officials plied this poor Minister, who was not even permanent in his position, with all kinds of attacks; also some greedy Europeans (in order to earn a livelihood), surrounding Mr. Cordery on all sides, helped these disturbers of the peace. These people attacked this helpless and silent old man, not only in the Bombay, Madras and Calcutta papers, but especially with lengthy articles in the "Pioneer," an Allahabad paper, which was inimical to the cause of India and Indians generally.

And the Government of India also committed a grave error—that is to say, they failed to realize the effect which the name of the late Salar Jung carried, from India to Persia, to Turkey and thence to Europe, and especially England, where the name Sir "Sailor Young" (Sir Salar Jung) was worshipped. Therefore, not relying on the wisdom and experience of Mr. Jones, they sent Sir Stewart Bayley to prepare a skeleton scheme for the administration of the State.

Sir Stewart was a man of noble temper, and very polite, but he had a good opinion of everyone with whom he came into contact, and very soon he was surrounded by the Hindustani gentlemen and their hungry and irresponsible European supporters, who now attacked not only the aged Maharaja, but also Sir Khurshed Jah from fear that the latter might step in when permanent arrangements were made.

This claim of Laik Ali Khan was, however, admitted, and his youthfulness was the only obstacle in the way of success. Thereafter Khurshed Jah Bahadur's name was struck off the list of candidates, and it was decided that Nawab Laik Ali Khan should remain under the tutelage of the Maharaja, and, sitting with him, daily share the responsibility of administration, with a view to his becoming, after a short period, the permanent Prime Minister of these dominions; and that until then, the Maharaja Bahadur should remain responsible for the peace of the State.

The decision upset the Maharaja, and he quoted the following couplet:—

> " You have placed me on a plank on the breast of the deepest of the deep sea, and yet you warn me again and again not to wet my garment."

But Mr. Palmer and Rustumjee and others, who sympathised with the Maharaja, came in the way of his refusal, and so encouraged him, that he accepted this temporary arrangement in the hope of its receiving modification in the future. But the result brought nothing but shame.

Mr. Jones could not put put up with this insult, and got himself transferred to Nagpur ; and on the 21st, April, 1883, Mr. Cordery was appointed Resident, with instructions to supervise this arrangement,

As has already been stated, after the death of the Minister the door of the Residency was opened to intrigue ; but, to be just, the Deccan people and the nobles of the State took no part in them, although men of lower rank were busy snatching one another's places. In every department intrigue was at its height, and bribery and corruption were openly rampant, placing honest people in a state of anxiety and fear. In every direction group after group of these men, like cattle without a herdsman, lowing, striking with their horns, charged about, after having selected for their patron men on whose protection they could rely. And every criminal who had secured acquittal through recommendation, became emboldened.

And while this was the condition of things with men of the lower strata, bigger men kept the field with higher ambitions. Of these Mohamed Ali Beg was the first to take the lead. An ambitious young man, of soldierly accomplishments, and with his heart full of hope, he had few equals in Hyderabad, and accordingly, with such qualities, was in constant attendance at the Palace ; and, indeed, in the matter of Masi-uz-Zaman Khan's dismissal, he received royal favour. On the other hand, being a Resaidar in the British Army, he was looked upon by the Resident as his own man ; while, at the same time, his military position had enabled him to secure special influence with the Europeans. Also, at this time, he had acquired a special position in the company of Nawab Laik Ali Khan ; and, following the example of the Minister, he had begun to entertain Englishmen on a smaller scale.

I met this gentleman in the beginning, in a strange way. Omer Ali Shah brought over to me one day a young man in Military uniform and gold-laced turban, and said that this young fellow was like his son. As he was to be my co-worker at the palace, the Shah Sahib wanted me to promise to help him as far as it lay in my power. I gave the promise.

Mohamed Ali Beg then told me that the difficulty in which he was placed, was, that he was a Sunni, and could only expect help from Agha Nasir Shah and Riasat Ali, his patrons, so long as his religion remained a secret to them. I, however, assured him, and, indeed, always supported him against Masi-uz-Zaman Khan.

Mr. Mehdi Ali followed suit, and, having assured Nawab Laik Ali Khan of his loyalty, began to visit the Residency and to entertain English officials. The right-hand man of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan he was self-possessed and polite, and his speech was sweet and very effective. He was also prepared to do a good turn to everybody, if it did not militate against his own personal interests. His subordinates were loyal, even unto death to him, and as he was able to surround himself with a circle of able, experienced, and well-read men, he was generally looked upon as a very popular man.

Although I lived in seclusion this gentleman had had friendly intercourse with me.

The participation of two or three Eropeans in this group, combined with the fact that the Resident began to speak highly of Mr. Mehdi Ali, made the Maharaja very uneasy in mind. He could not, without danger lay his hands on Mirza Mohamed Ali Beg, because of his comradeship with the Ruler and his connexion with the British Government; but he proceeded against Moulvi Mehdi Ali, and Pattapfi Ram Rao and a Mehdevi Pathan (I forget the latter's name) but he held a high position in the Treasury) were ordered to call for accounts from Mr. Medhi Ali.

The poor Moulvi was at his wit's end. In the morning, as I was preparing to go to the palace, and when my conveyance was ready waiting for me, he appeared before me. I had a mirror in front of me and the Holy Koran was in a niche, and the Moulvi, without even greeting me, took the Koran from the niche, and placing it on his head, said:

"My friend, if you can save me now, I swear on this Holy Book that I shall ever remain grateful to you, but otherwise I shall take poison and kill myself, and the innocent blood of a Syed will rest on your head."

I asked him to put back the Koran in its place, and tell me how I could interfere in his case, adding that if he but showed me the way, I would not hesitate to help him, and, in reply, he requested me to bring about a meeting with the Maharaja, and then leave the rest to him. It was therefore agreed that he would be at the Maharaja's palace at about "magrib" time (evening prayers), and that I should try to arrange an interview.

This was accordingly done, and at the interview, the Moulvi, in beseeching the Maharaja to withhold his hand, paid him such a glowing tribute, that the Maharaja gave up the idea of degrading him.

At this time a new visitor, in the person of Mehdi Hussain—he had read with me for a short time in the school at Kaiser Bagh, Lucknow—came to Hyderabad, bringing with him an Anglo-Indian lady. This was the first time in Hyderabad that women began to take part in plots and intrigues.

As it was difficult to approach the Maharaja, this Mehdi Hussain and Moulvi Mushtak Hussain came to me and pressed a long-standing claim on me. I admitted the claim at once, but had to explain that I had no "locus standi" in the administration. However, I began to think how I could interfere re the man's appointment. The Maharaja was already ill-disposed towards Upper Indian men, and was about to lay hold of Moulvi Mushtak Hussain himself, but the fact that Mehdi Hussain had been my school-fellow, influenced me in his favour. It was therefore agreed that Nawab Laik Ali Khan should make a recommendation, and that I should vouch for Mehdi Hussain's good conduct and abilities; and accordingly the Nawab Sahib made a written recommendation for him in the Judicial department, mentioning also the fact that he was known to me.

Maharaja could not refuse such a recommendation, and Mehdi Hussain was introduced into the service; but gradually he also became involved in the topsy-turveydom that was taking place, and came into prominence and notoriety more through the diplomatic moves of the Anglo-Indian lady referred to. As the poet says :—

> " Not the curtain, but we, did fall, when she
> showed her beauty, by lifting the veil."

In the palace itself, peace prevailed, except when Captain Clerk occasionally lost his temper. In the Paigahs, too, there was no necessity for any intrigue. Sir Asman Jah possessed in Mr. Dosabhoy, a Parsee gentleman of experience and excellent judgment, and with the latter managing his State Jagirs and troops, the Nawab Sahib led a life of ease with his companions. And the same was the case with Nawab Vikar-ul-Umra, under the management of Shapurjee. If any question was asked of these noblemen regarding their estate, they would look to their managers to answer it. This statement, however, does not apply to Sir Khurshed Jah, who was a nobleman of experience, and understood perfectly well how to administer his Illaqa (estate).

However, at this time, a powerfully big group of Upper Indians, including men of exceptional ability, vast experience, erudition and foresight, were acting in unison and singleness of purpose to bring about discredit on the administration of the aged Maharaja, and the position may well be described according to a well-known saying : " One doomed man, with a hundred executioners."

These men were trying to break down the present temporary arrangements, so that Nawab Laik Ali Khan might become the Diwan (Prime Minister) with full powers, and that then, having thus published to the world their loyalty to the late Minister, they might the more easily take shelter under the youth and inexperience of the new Minister, in order, on the one hand, to prove to the Government of India, through the Resident, their ability to work, and on the other, to strike their roots deeper into the soil of the State, and establish themselves permanently. Those few gentlemen who were sent for on Sir Stewart's recommendation, did not live long, and in quick succession sacrificed themselves for their Sovereign and Country.

In this group there were two officials who concerned themselves only with the work of their own departments, and here, like the bullock in the oilman's mill, they kept moving round and round to the exclusion of all other matters. Moulvi Chiragh Ali was one of these. A man of great erudition, a litterateur in Arabic and English, and taciturn by nature, he was a very recalcitrant subordinate of Mehdi Ali, though he was superior to him in respect of his education.

Nawab Ikram-ullah Khan, the other of the two officials in question, was an elegant speaker of a humorous turn of mind, and came of a high family. He was fond of the company of friends, and disliked intrigue to such an extent that soon after the death of the Minister, he tendered his resignation and left for his native country; and the British Government then appointed him as adviser to the Nawab of Rampur.

Of the Madrassis, Moulvi Shaik Ahmed possessed all good qualities and disliked intrigue, but he, too, to the regret of all, did not live long.

Moulvi Mohamed Siddik did not possess sufficient talent to emulate the successes of the Upper Indians, and as he could not then gain access to higher authorities, he confined himself to giving expression to his ambitious ideas on a lower plane.

This group, although disagreeing within itself, was united as regards the discomfiture of the Maharaja.

I have already briefly alluded to Sirdar Diler Jung Abdul Huq.* He was not supported by any group of men like Moulvi Mehdi Ali, but relying only on his natural gifts, was able to face and successfully offer opposition to them; but he was neither against nor in favour of the Maharaja.

Almost every day, things derogatory to the Maharaja were conveyed to the Residency, and this occasioned the interference of the Resident more and more in the internal administration of the State: and the art of espionage—because of the position of those in the intrigue—was encouraged to a greater degree at the Residency. In fact, it began to be inferred that, but for a few tried servants, the work of the administration could not go on for a single day.

Although I was not included in any group, I was suspected to be a partisan of the Maharaja, and because I attended on the ruler night and day and was influential, they thought I would sing the praises of the Maharaja and belittle the dignity of others before the Sovereign. Accordingly they now turned their attention on me, and succeeded in turning Nawab Laik Ali Khan against me, although he was my pupil, and favoured me.

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* Died in London 6th Zilhej, 1313 H.

(These gentlemen were only in appearance well-wishers of Nawab Laik Ali Khan, and in the end they hoodwinked him.)

On one occasion when we were having tea together—the Nawab, the tutors, and all the palace staff were there—and when, as it happened, I was sitting close to Nawab Mir Laik Ali Khan, the latter began to talk unpleasantly. As he was accustomed to use abusive language, I, to safeguard myself, said to him in the words of the poet:

> "You can abuse strangers if you like, but if you say anything to us, the responsibility will be yours."

And I added that this was a couplet of Mir's (this is a poetical pseudonym of a gentleman who is considered to be one of the best Urdu poets), and that as I was one, who was helped by his father, I should like him to be careful in his speech towards me. After I had said this the Nawab, pressing his back to the chair and raising his head, cried aloud, "Hai Baba! . . . Hai Baba!" (Oh, my father! Oh, my father!) and began to cry like a child. At once attendants from all directions ran towards him, and even His Highness came over; but he continued to cry.

I was then questioned, and I related the incident. As His Highness knew my temperament, he did not say anything, but taking hold of the Nawab's hand, took him away, saying, "Do not take ill what the 'Hazrat' says."

From that day Nawab Laik Ali Khan came to believe that I was hostile towards him, and the methods which he and his coadjutors, Mohamed Ali Beg, Riasat Ali, and his younger brother, Nawab Saadat Ali Khan, adopted to injure me are too unpleasant to mention.

And very soon another man was to share our lot. This was Nawab Khurshed Jah, whose administrative ability was well known. He was the only nobleman now who enjoyed the title of Shamshul Umra Amir-i-Kabir, and the city people looked up to him as their protector; and as the agitators feared that the Government, recognizing his ability and prestige, might turn its attention in his favour, they began to poison the Resident's ear's against him.

Mr. Cordery's mind was clear as regards myself—he and I used to converse on literary subjects—but matters reached such a climax, that the administration began to go from bad to worse, and the blame for it fell to the lot of the temporary incumbent (Maharaja Pesh kar).

The Maharaja, on the advice of Khurshed Jah, was of opinion that His Highness's education should now cease, so that, taking the reins of Government into his own hands, he could relieve his suffering subjects from the painful situation; but Captain Clerk disliked the idea, and Major Gough and those who supported Nawab Laik Ali Khan, began to instil fears into the Nawab's mind, that, if this were done, the Amir-i-Kabir and the Maharaja would carry the day. Therefore attacks began to be made on His Highness's tender age and inexperience.

On the other hand, I was also worried, and thought that my own safety also lay in acting on the Maharaja's suggestion, and accordingly I told him that I thought that His Highness should go to Calcutta for the purpose of seeing the Exhibition that was then being held there, and also in order to allow Lord Ripon to decide for himself whether His Highness's education should cease or not, and at the same time settle the question of investing His Highness with full ruling powers.

The two noblemen did not, in the first instance, favour my proposal, and this on the ground that, His Highness being in his own right a hereditary ruler of this State, and that, barring the Delhi Durbar (held 4th Zilhij, 1293 H.) not one of the former rulers had gone beyond the confines of the Dominions they would not in their life-time be a party to anything "infra dig."; but when they found that the Resident was also won over to the views of these agitators, they decided to act according to my opinion.

I, on my part, began to persuade His Highness to visit Calcutta, and to end his tutelage, in order to take into his hands the full control of the administration. My persuasion had the desired effect, and Zuffer Jung and His

Highness became so interested in their visit of enjoyment to Calcutta, that His Highness gave a written order to the Maharaja to make preparations for the journey.

Our sole object was to tide over the ugly storm that was raised by these agitators, and to save our honour at any cost ; and now those very men, acting under the fear that we were strengthening our hold by this move, tried their utmost, though without success, to stop the journey.

The preparations were now made on a similar scale to that of the visit to the Delhi Durbar, which the late Minister had planned. In fact, the Maharaja gave a further impetus to enhance the Royal dignity on the journey, by sending Mr. Cordery to Calcutta to arrange for a reception befitting His Highness's rank, and to see that nothing derogatory occurred.

We reached Allahabad, resting at each stage of the journey, and enjoyed a visit to the Fort. At Benares* we were the guests of the Maharaja.

None of the intriguers accompanied the Royal party, but Mohamed Ali Beg, Mir Riasat Ali and Nawab Saadat Ali Khan commenced to attack me and the Maharaja, and Captain Clerk gave Nawab Laik Ali Khan a full opportunity to obtain results that might be useful to him in the future.

An incident that occurred here deserves to be noticed. Mr. Cordery, when on his way back from Calcutta, came to see the Maharaja, and told him that at Calcutta, the capital of the Empire, it was not customary for the Government of India to honour anyone, with the exception of the Royal family of England, with salutes and reception. The Maharaja was perplexed at this, but Khurshed Jah courageously pointed out to Mr. Cordery that, wonderful as it might appear, at every step the question of suzerainty seemed to bar their way. Mr. Cordery shook his shoulders, and replied that in his subordinate capacity, he could do nothing.

It then fell from my mouth that His Highness was on a visit of enjoyment, and that the journey as far as

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* *Benares.*—Benares, on the opposite side of the river Ganges, is the principal seat of the worship of Mahdeo Siva, whose shrines are found everywhere throughout India. The Province of Benares became British territory in 1775, and is now included in the Agra Province of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. It is a well-known place of pilgrimage. Recently restored to the Maharajah.

Benares was sufficient for the purpose ; but Mr. Cordery, turning to me, said that I was totally wrong, and that His Highness could not cut short his trip midway and return, as special arrangements were in progress to entertain him on a much superior scale to that of any other ruling Chief.

The conversation then became unpleasant, the Nawab Amir-i-Kabir replying to the Resident in the same strain as that in which he was addressed.

Captain Clerk kept himself aloof during this conversation, and turned the whole responsibility on the Maharaja and the Amir-i-Kabir.

The Maharaja had made one mistake, Before he left on this trip, he had summoned to help him, on the advice of Tom Palmer, at great expense, a very influential Englishman named Sir John Gorst. This gentleman was so highly connected that he stayed with Lord Ripon as his guest. But the Maharaja's move proved futile, and, unluckily, had the opposite effect to that desired, for the subsidized newspaper men raised such a cry that, the Government of India began to suspect the Maharaja although formerly it had favoured him in spite of the efforts of his enemies to the contrary. But now it became hostile to him ; and Sir John Gorst, too, having taken the money, cooled off.

Finally Mr. Cordery, becoming angry with me, asked what right I had to intervene, and requesting me to inform His Highness that he wished to see him, added that he would personally represent the matter to His Highness.

I accordingly conveyed Mr. Cordery's wish to His Highness, and at the same time informed him of what had taken place. I humbly suggested that His Highness should never consent to go to Calcutta except on the assurance of receiving fitting salutes, etc., and that I confidently believed that, if he remained firm, he would be received there in Royal fashion. Otherwise, I said, we should be laughed at throughout the length and breadth of India.

Then I sent for Mr. Cordrey. He spoke very logically and said that His Highness's dignity and prestige were such that it could never suffer diminution, and that the Government was bound by its rules and procedure.

As bad luck would have it, I let drop the remark that the procedure and rules were meant to be observed in durbar—how could they effect matters which were private ?

At that Mr. Cordery's face reddened, and he told His Highness that if he possessed such advisers he would come to grief. But in spite of his arguments and persuasion, he received a reply in the negative, His Highness saying that it was his intention to go back from there ; and shaking hands with the Resident His Highness went away into the Zenana.

Mr. Cordery was now very angry with me, saying that I had set a light to this conflagration.

I replied that, even if I admitted the accusation, it would enhance his own reputation to support our position in the matter, for the Nizam of Hyderabad was held in deep affection by Hindus, Muslims, Parsees, Sikhs (who had a sacred shrine at Nander), and Native Christians alike, and that the great Hindu princes still held grants of Puras (lands) in Aurangabad, and Kharitas (letters of friendship) with sugar, til, etc., were even now presented through the Resident ; and that if the dignity of His Highness suffered any slight, these people were bound to resent it. I therefore suggested that Mr. Cordery would add lustre to his name, when it became known that he had fought to maintain the dignity of the Nizam, and that the Muslim historians would mention the fact as a memorable event in their histories.

Mr. Cordery however, was a gentleman, and although he first enquired why Sir John Gorst* had been sent for, he finally acceded to the request of the Amir-i-Kabir and the Maharaja that he should make an effort in support of their views.

Accordingly the decision was arrived at that His Highness should proceed to a station beyond Benares, perhaps Mirzapur, and stay there, while Mr. Cordery would go to Calcutta forthwith, and then return to Mirzapur, to inform us as to the result of his mission, when we should be able to decide what course to adopt.

Mr. Cordery eventually returned quite happy and glad, to inform us that His Highness would be received with all the ceremonies demanded, with the one exception that the Foreign Secretary would not be at the Station. He further announced that His Highness would reside at Chowringhee as an honoured guest of the Government.

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* *Vide* " Pioneer," April 18th, 1884.

Highly pleased, we reached Calcutta,* and took up our abode in those spacious buildings, which contained all that was necessary to entertain us hospitably. The Maharaja requested the Government to post guards here.

The time was spent in visits and return visits, dinners and parties, and visits to the racecourse.

The Mussulmans of Calcutta applied for permission to present an address of welcome, and Captain Clerk appointed a day for it, and requested me to write a reply on behalf of His Highness and read it. I pleaded that this was the work of the Maharaja or Nawab Laik Ali Khan ; but when the deputation came, it was I who replied to the address. The Maharaja felt this very much, because it was specially aimed to lower his prestige.

After this Captain Clerk told me that Syed Amir Ali, a Judge of the High Court, would visit His Highness and he asked me to bring forth His Highness early, saying that we alone would be present. In other words, a durbar on a very small scale would be held. I again reminded him that this was the work of the Maharaja or Nawab Laik Ali Khan, and at this he seemed annoyed, and said that that old man was not the minister, and that Laik Ali Khan would become the Minister—he would see to it. I then told him that I consented on one condition, and that was, that the Syed should come dressed with the " Dastar " and belt around his waist. And I reminded him of Sir Syed's case.

Captain Clerk replied that he knew I was against the Syed, and asked me to carry out his orders. He also asked me to visit the Syed at his bungalow. I said there was no harm in my meeting him, and I would go at once, but that the holding of the private durbar was beyond my power, and, further, that the Syed ought to observe the rules of the durbar of a Muslim King. His prestige would in no way suffer if he wore the " dastar " and belt, and if he came without these,

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* The Nizam arrived at Calcutta on the 17th Safar, 1301 H. (1884 A.D)

I would not be present in the room at the interview, let alone the durbar.

In short I visited the Syed. He first of all kept me waiting on the verandah, and then sent for me; and then, again like a Sahib Bahadur, after meeting me for two or three minutes, let me depart. The result was that the Syed came and went away without anybody's knowing who had come and gone. The Syed was a very learned man, and the author of many books; and his dignity could not have been affected by his putting on a "dastar" and a belt.

Sir RoperWilliams, who was then a guest of the Viceroy, hearing that I was a tutor of His Highness, and was therefore, necessarily, a very learned man, requested to see me, and when we met, he conversed on the ancient Hindus and their writings in the Sanskrit language. I knew nothing of this subject, and perhaps we did not enjoy each other's company.

After dinner I met Sir Stewart Bayley at an evening party. Perhaps Captain Clerk or my friend, Mr. Syed Hussain had told him that I was the author of the article in which his proceedings were severely criticised. That article was published in Bombay by a Mahratta friend of the Maharaja, who had heard a few facts from me and had entered them in the article. Of this Captain Clerk and my old friend were aware, and therefore they had made a wrong presumption in regard to myself. However, at this interview that article was referred to. I admitted my share in it, but in spite of Sir Stewarts' persistence, denied all knowledge of either the author or of other facts.

I met another old class-fellow at this function. He came from behind me and suddenly closed my eyes, and when he lifted his hands off my eyes. I saw Rajah Amir Hussan Khan, the great Rais (Talukdar) of Mahmoodabad, standing before me. We embraced each other. Amongst my class-fellows, this Raja and Raja Binga alone made a great name for themselves. All the others remained mediocrities Raja Inder Bikram Shah would have distinguished himself, but he died, while still a youth. I now hear that his Ranee has made a reputation for herself amongst the ladies of Oudh. Choudhri Wajid Hussain, the Talukdar of Guddea, was also a well-read man. He wanted to visit me in Hyderabad, but died soon afterwards, and now his son, Shahid Hussain is of a very pushing character.

We returned from Calcutta by similar stages to those of the journey there, with pomp and glory.

The Maharaja and the Nawab Amir-i-Kabir made one blunder, in that they invited Lord Ripon to Hyderabad, to invest His Highness with full ruling powers. Up to now the Viceroy had not begun to tour Native States as do the Governors of Bombay, Madras, the Punjab, and Bengal, who, following a specially drawn up itinerary, proceed through the provinces under their charge ; but the result of this invitation—which was gladly accepted by Lord Ripon—was that the Viceroy also began to make a tour in Hindu and Muslim States—like the movement of the planet Neptune—and to consider this as a duty among his other duties. Hundreds of thousands were spent by the States on his entertainment, with no useful result to either, while the word " Suzerain " was the more completely established.

However, on our return to Hyderabad, a riotous scene occurred, the very memory of which makes my hair stand on end.

I have already mentioned the formation of a group of adventurers whose avowed object was to continue to harass the aged Maharaja, in order to serve their own selfish ends, and now these agitators came, as it were, into the arena of intrigue with drawn swords, and, while fencing with one another, had for their common object the blood of the old Maharaja and the wide-awake Amir-i-Kabir. And they were so shrewd, that if the opportunity did not of itself come their way, they would use their foresight to create it. They were like horses without bits, who kicked in all directions ; and now that the great horseman, in the person of the late Minister, was no more, no other rough-rider could be found of sufficient ability to keep these hard-mouthed horses under control. They would, shewing their teeth, bite one another, and at the same time, kick at the Amir-i-Kabir and the Maharaja. In fact, they burst open the gates of the Residency with their kicks, and having entered it, began to jump and romp about.

It was Hyderabad's misfortune that there were at this time, in the city, a few Englishmen, who in straitened circumstances and in search of a livelihood, began to sell their knowledge and pen to those who required it, for filthy lucre. It is a painful fact that one or two honoured and retired Englishmen sold their reputation and honour to the highest bidder, and so in the newspapers, far and near, there began to appear lengthy articles which, in the guise of loyalty and fidelity, made, before the eyes of the Resident and the Foreign office, the most of the inexperience and youth of the Ruler and the would-be Minister. But this was only the ostensible object of those who were behind the articles; their real object was to prove their own ability and their own indispensability in Hyderabad. The then Resident—a simple gentleman of literary tastes—was caught in the meshes of the net spread for him, and and was thus thrown into anxiety at the idea of the administration of the State falling into disrepute and affairs daily growing worse—which condition of things was actually the result of the deeds practised by the agitators themselves.

Now the two parties, clearly outlined, faced each other. One was the party of the aged Maharaja Narander, which included only two Englishmen and one or two Parsees who could face the agitators on equal grounds. The rest of the people of the City, whether Hindus or Muslims were simple-minded folk of the old type, who, while in heart, well-wishers of the Maharaja, had not the means or the courage to come forward, but remained indoors, calling on Parmeshwar or on Allah as the case might be.

It was the same in the palace. There Mirza Mohamed Ali Beg, Mir Riasat Ali, under the leadership of Captain Clerk, and Nawab Mir Saadat Ali Khan, formed a powerful group against the Maharaja and the Amir-i-Kabir; and, in addition, believing that I was a partisan of the two noblemen, they began to make shameful and unworthy attacks on me, in order to reduce my dignity in the eyes of His Highness.

The other attendants of the palace, who belonged to the time of Amir-i-Kabir Omdut-ul-Mulk or Amir-i-Kabir Rashid-ud-din Khan, were men of the old type, who were ignorant of English and English ways. They knew a smattering of Urdu, but nothing of Arabic and

Persian; and like the City people, frightened, they held their turbans with both hands, and called for God's protection. These were neither against nor for either of the contending patries.

The opposite party although apparently favouring Nawab Laik Ali Khan, was in reality serving its own selfish ends. Including shrewd and clever men, it was sub-divided into minor sections, and the section led by Moulvi Mehdi Ali was composed of men, highly cultured, highly connected, and of ability and education. The other section was founded by Mr. Syed Hussain. As he was an English scholar of merit, he and the Resident, who was also a literary man, became fast friends. This group included men like Major Gough, Captain Clerk and Mir Riasat Ali.

As to Mirza Mohamed Ali Beg, smearing himself with blood, he entered the circle of the martyrs solely for purposes of his own.

Sirdar Abdul Huq, Diler Jung, a man of high courage, of good judgment, clever, and a thorough Muslim, formed a party by himself. With a complete aversion to intrigue and fraudulent dealings, and possessing the qualities of an administrator, he kept his subordinates under such control and fear, that none had the audacity to hold intercourse with the agitators; and he saw through the intrigue which with the ostensible object of supporting Nawab Laik Ali Khan, but in reality to further the agitators' own schemes, was set on foot, to lay the Maharaja and the Amir-i-Kabir by the heels. It was not difficult for the schemers to prove to the satisfaction of the Resident and the Foreign Office, that the Ruler and the Minister were youthful and inexperienced. The Resident, unaware of past history, naturally concluded that even the success of the late Minister's administration was due to the ability and capacity of these gentlemen, and that to them could be applied the words of Firdausi, namely :—

> "I have made Rustom the Rustom of the story, otherwise he was merely a warrior in Seistan."

And the mercenary English writers strengthened this belief of the Resident by their articles in the Press.

Sirdar Diler Jung therefore became, as it were, an obstacle in the way of the agitators' success.

Finally a compromise was effected, with the division of the spoil in equal shares ; and then the different groups, joining together, awaited the arrival of Lord Ripon, the Viceroy.

Though a scuffle used to take place as to whom should get the better of the other, in connexion with Nawab Laik Ali Khan, Moulvi Mehdi Ali, invariably courted discomfiture.

On the other side, the faction supporting the Maharaja being unenterprising, was in consequence decisively beaten—at the Residency and the Foreign Office by this combination and by Captain Clerk at the palace.

Finally, Nawab Laik Ali Khan's claim to the Prime Ministership was admitted ; but, as a drowning man will catch at a straw, Mr. Palmer and Colonel Dobbs continued to encourage the Maharaja in believing that Lord Ripon and Sir Mortimer Durand would not offer the position of Minister to one so young. The Amir-i-Kabir also held the same opinion ; but as I knew all the facts, for Abdul Huq and Mehdi Ali called upon me frequently, I sent the following line to the Maharaja with my servant Malliah :

"Stop before they ask you to stop."

Lord Ripon was at Poona, and our arrangements to accord him a befitting reception and entertain him on a splendid scale were completed. Just then a letter addressed to the Maharaja, arrived from the Resident which was briefly to this effect—that His Highness ought personally to have received the Viceroy at the frontier of the State, but that the Viceroy had foregone this, and now wished that four noblemen of high standing should proceed to the frontier to receive him.

At this the Maharaja shed tears. As I happened to be with him, I said we should not have come to such a pass if he had not invited the Viceroy. "It was from us that it had come upon us."

On the other hand, Amir-i-Kabir said that if His Highness would support him, he was ready to carry on conversations on this question ; and even Nawab Saadat

Ali Khan could not help giving vent to his feelings, saying, " I wish my father were alive."

However, Lord Ripon arrived the next day, and the four noblemen who had gone to the frontier to receive him, waited on him in the morning for " Mizaj Pursi " ceremony. Then followed the visit and the return visit, the Durbar and the Banquet, the details of which it is not necessary for me to go into.

But the day on which the Viceroy arrived at the Residency, the intriguing group became excited and rushed there. By their good fortune an English gentleman, by the name of Blunt, having travelled through Eygpt, Syria and other Islamic countries had come to India with his wife (who was called Lady Blunt and was said to be a granddaughter of Lord Byron, the great English poet.) This Mr. Blunt was a man of foolish ideas—in fact, a monomaniac who claimed to possess a great love for the Muslim in general and Arabs in particular and both he and his wife were desirous of meeting well-known Muslims, all over India, like Moulvi Samiullah Khan, C.M.G., in the hope of enlisting their sympathy in connexion with the founding of an Arab University either in India, or Egypt. Further although this man was an Englishman he disliked English statesmen and their methods, and in defence of Muslims he would not hesitate to criticize British officials, high or low.

Now this pair, in the course of touring through India, found themselves at this particular time in Hyderabad (Sir John Gorst was also there, to help the Maharaja), and as the man was fearless, had a glib tongue, and could, thanks to his wife's high family connexion, mix in influential society, he was an acquisition in the hands of those who favoured Nawab Laik Ali Khan's candidature. Accordingly they surrounded him, and began to entertain him handsomely, while some were told off to din into his ears Hyderabad affairs, while conversing with him on his pet subject, the University ; and by this means they poisoned his mind against the Minister.

Mr. Blunt also saw for himself the highly modernised life which Nawab Laik Ali Khan, Asman Jah and Vikar-ul-Umra led, and the social amenities they and their companions indulged in, with regard to speech, conduct, dress, etc. ; and also on the other hand, he saw an old man, bowed down with the weight of years, in simple loose garments and turban, with no furniture to decorate his palace, and with no men of cultured ideas to discuss with him the benefits which an Arab University would confer ; and the contrast between the old and the new was so obvious, that Mr. Blunt was completely won over to the side of Nawab Laik Ali Khan, and became an instrument in the hands of the latter's supporters.

Sir John Gorst* having made good his fees, made himself scarce.

Mr. Blunt had already come into contact with Lord Ripon's secretary, and had spoken to him of his experiences—in fact he had corresponded with him while he was staying here ; and being a disinterested traveller, his word and writing proved effective.

I met this gentleman only once, and our meeting was not pleasant as I fear he had already been spoken to against myself.†

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* *Sir John Gorst.*—It is not generally known that Sir John Gorst, Q.C., was formally retained by the late Sir Salar Jung, as the Nizam's Counsel for the restoration of the Berars. As the deceased Minister was in England in 1876, it was not unnaturally supposed by those who did not know the facts, that Sir John Gorst was invited to India in December, 1883, to prefer the young Nizam's claims to the territory upon his coming of age. He, however, came upon a less important mission, viz., he was brought out, on Mr. Thomas Palmer's recommendation, to secure the Dewanship for the old Peshkar, and was to receive Rs. 75,000 for his services—which sum he did after all receive. Disappointed in his object, Sir John Gorst wrote a bitter philippic in the " Fortnightly Review " upon the administration of Hyderabad territories. The gross and indecent accusation against the Nizam and his Minister were naturally the points that provoked much indignation.

The Peshkar's position in this matter was so painful as to provoke commiseration, were it not at the same time so ridiculous. The poor old Maharaja pays a lot of money to obtain the assistance of a lawyer from London, who, after doing nothing for him in India, goes back home again to earn another £10 note or so by writing an article—the only motive of which was to damage an opponent on the English political stage—in which his unlucky employer was damned with a word or two of faint praise, just enough to fix upon him the responsibility for the author's sentiments.

† Mr. Wilfred Scawen Blunt, in his book " India under Ripon," refers, on page 204, to his conversation with the author (11th February, 1884). Mr. Blunt also mentions Moulvi Samiullah Khan, C.M.G., and Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, in connexion with his visit to the Aligarh College (page 155).

When Lord Ripon, himself arrived* here he had already formed his opinion, but nevertheless, it was necessary for him to know what His Highness thought of the matter.

Mr. Cordery who was in favour of these men who were acting ostensibly on behalf of Nawab Laik Ali Khan, gave them full opportunity to approach Sir Mortimer Durand, and it was now decided that the Maharaja should be dismissed with ignominy, and with no recognition of his services, as if he had committed a crime punishable by both the Governments. The Maharaja and the City people, however, were so oblivious of what was taking place, that they sat quiet, with hopes that Providence would help them.

The installation Durbar came off the next day. Sir Mortimer Durand had the chair of the Maharaja thrown to a distance, while, on the other hand, he had Nawab Laik Ali Khan's chair placed at the spot reserved for the Minister. As for the Maharaja, he wished that he might be buried alive, for shame; and the whole of the City was stupefied. Just then the Viceroy arrived, and took his seat on the dais, on a gilt chair, side by side with His Highness. Then Sir Mortimer Durand, standing up, read a lengthy address in Persian, after which His Highness presented the "pan dhan," the scent box, etc., to the Viceroy, and Nawab Laik Ali Khan, in his capacity of Prime Minister, presented the same to Sir Mortimer Durand and the Resident. And with that the durbar came to an end.†

The Maharaja greatly perturbed, fled to his house and hid himself, whereas the new Minister,‡ riding an elephant and sitting on a green howdah, formed a procession of great pomp and rode home.

The treatment of the aged Maharaja recalls the poet's words :—

> "Oh, God, what guiltless person has the executioner laid low,
> Believing him worthy of the blow!
> A voice arising from the resting-place,
> Says, 'Lo! thou murderest an innocent man!'"

But while on the one hand there was such desolation at the Maharaja's and such stupefaction in the City, on the other, God the Omnipotent granted a new lease of life and prosperity to the Minister's family. His friends were happy, and his enemies doomed. His younger brother, Mir Saadat Ali Khan, was appointed Commander-in-Chief, and Mohamed Ali Beg was made his deputy, with the rank of Captain or Major.

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*4th Rabi-ul-awal, 1301 H (1884). †7th Rabi-ul-awal, 1301 H (1884)

‡Salar Jung II. appointed 7th Rabi-us-sani, 1301 H (1884).

Now hear the story of the writer.

The next day after the installation I attended the palace as usual, and sat down with His Highness in the Mahtab Mahal Palace; and I spoke the following words:

" Your Highness has ascended the throne, while yet in your childhood. Lord Ripon's visit and the installation of your Highness on the " Gadi " were meaningless events. This was due to the anxiety I was in, and to a diplomatic error of the Maharaja, but I pray that you may shine, like the moon, in beauty and safety and live in the dominion of love everlastingly.

" To-day my duty as tutor ends. God be praised that that which my heart yearned to see—the curtain of destiny lifting—is before mine eyes ! "

" Your Highness is well aware that the Minister is very displeased with me. Therefore your devoted servant is forced to request to be given six month's leave. As for my future maintenance, My Lord knows the method of how to exalt his servants."

His Highness continued to listen to my conversation, and then, suddenly drawing paper, ink and pen towards himself, wrote on it : " Hazrat Agha Mirza Beg be granted six months' leave, and from the date of the dismissal of Moulvi Masi-uz-Zaman Khan to date, Rs. 1500 monthly be paid as salary, and the same salary be paid to him from month to month."

Having written it he gave it to me and said, " Hazrat, if you wish to go outside, then do not do so without informing me."

I put the paper in my pocket, and returned home satisfied, but as luck would have it, the paper somehow fell out of my pocket while I was on my way home, and when I reached there, I found my pocket empty. I was extremely sorry at this, but as there was no other alternative, I smothered the rising pangs in my heart, and remained quiet at home. In the words of the Holy Koran, "That which seems a loss to you, is often a gain";* and, indeed, this happened for the best, as I will relate later on.

Now, hear what was passing in the world around.

The intriguing group had under their control a State with a yearly income of almost 10 crores of rupees. The reason for this was, that Mr. Cordery had formed a settled opinion that the Ruler and his Vazeer were both young and inexperienced; and that as the present officials were picked men, selected for their experience, ability and family connexions, relying on whose capacity the late Minister had carried on the administration of the State, they should therefore be made responsible for the maintenance of peace.

The Foreign Office sanctioned this policy of the Resident, especially as it was alleged by these very men that the youthful Ruler and the Minister were surrounded by young pleasure-seeking companions. And so this policy became a settled one and remained in force until the end of the régime of Nawab Bashir-ud-dowlah.

It therefore became necessary for these officials to keep on the friendly side of the Resident, and in order to maintain their dignity and prestige in his eyes it became essential for them to make a show of their work. And to do this, it was necessary that one official should vie with another in currying favour with the Resident and the Prime Minister. Accordingly a race now began as to which of the officials should pass the winning-post first, with the result that Hyderabad became notorious as a hot-bed of intrigue.

The palace, however, remained immune from intrigue for several reasons, The first reason was, that, with the exception of Mirza Mohamed Ali Beg and Mir Riasat Ali, the rest were men of the old-type in both dress and conduct. Uninfluenced by modern social amenities they remained contented with their lot; and the Royal etiquette had with them become part and parcel of their daily life to such an extent, that they never took the liberty to represent even ordinary matters to His Highness, as compared with these two gentlemen, who had obtained great influence. The distinction between these two was this, that Mir Riasat Ali was of mediocre ability, and never went beyond the duties connected with the departments entrusted to him, whereas Mirza Mohamed Ali Beg, a " pardasee " himself was a far-sighted, calculating, clever young man. As one instance of his cleverness the following incident may be cited. One day His Highness, with the Minister and companions went out to Sarurnagar to enjoy the air. While they were on the road, the Minister dropped his handkerchief, and Mirza Mohamed Ali Beg galloped after it, and, without dismounting, bent down and lifted it from the ground. For this performance he received praises from all sides. Furthermore, if anyone had the courage to open his lips to complain against anyone, His Highness's face would undergo a change, because, from his childhood, he had come to know the character of every one of his attendants.

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* *Al Koran*, Part II. (Al-Baquarat Sayakul), Ch. 2, Sec. 216. "Fighting is enjoined on you, and it is an object of dislike to you; and it may be that you dislike a thing while it is good for you, and it may be that you love a thing while it is evil for you. Allah knows what you do not know."

The second reason was, that the great nobles remained secluded in their palaces.

But the third and great reason, was this that His Highness had entrusted the whole work of administration to the Nawab Laik Ali Khan, for whom he had such regard, that he had the following couplet written and sent to him :—

> " I became body and you the soul : I became you and you became me, in order that no one could say after this that I and you are different."

Therefore the Residency and the palace of the Minister became the centre of intrigue.

The day after the installation durbar an order to convene the Moglai durbar was made, at which the humble writer received the title of Sarvar Jung with 7000 Cavalry and an allowance ; and the other companions were honoured with various titles. like Afsur Jung, Mahboob Yar Jung, etc.

Very foolishly, after taking the permission of His Highness, I issued a firman with regard to the administration of the Royal Palace, and made rules pertaining to Royal Durbars. In accordance with these rules, a special seat and place was allotted to each of the Durbaris, from the nobles to the small Jemadars and Mansabdars, consistent with his rank. but the firman and its contents and my interference were so disliked by the Prime Minister, that he got the firman cancelled, and I, falling under his displeasure, had to retire into private life, where I remained for a long period of time, a silent spectator of all that was taking place.

The Minister, on the other hand, impatient of restraint, broke through the old rules, and made new regulations for the Royal Palace.

Afsur Jung and Mahboob Yar Jung were appointed A.D.C.'s, instead of the old time Arzbegees ; the writing of the Shiahah (a diary regularly kept in the palace, recording palace affairs), remained only in name : and all requests, permission to obtain audiences, private orders, etc., had to be made through the aides-de-camp. Further, under the new arrangements, the latter issued notices for the English Durbar under the English rules, and a list of all those gentlemen who were invited to dinners, etc., was prepared and kept by them. In short, a great revolution was taking place at the Royal palace. Urgent matters or important Residency correspondence were only occasionally placed before His Highness, and then they were only meant for his information.

But the fact that the administration was now wholly under the control of the Dewan, was exactly what the late Minister had planned, and which the Maharaja had vainly tried to uphold ; and it was only because of his sudden death that the changes which the late Minister had contemplated and the rules that he had wished to enforce, had not been able to be carried into effect.

But one great change which the new Minister brought about, was the introduction of Urdu, instead of Persian, as the official language.

Here I am reminded of a conversation I had with Salar Jung I. One day when I was in attendance on the late Minister, he, while conversing, incidentally said, " To-day Moulvi Mushtak Hussain told me a strange thing—that Urdu should take the place of Persian in all the offices and departments of the State," I foolishly supported the suggestion, and then the Nawab, who was reclining on pillows, suddenly sat up and said, " By God, no ! " And he laid such emphasis on his words, that I was puzzled and thought to myself that I had unwittingly offended him. And then he went on :

" You Hindustanee people are not practised in speaking or writing Persian. The Persian language is a sign of the Victory of Islam, and points to our being a victorious people. You have effaced it in your country, and are trying to reproduce the same effect here. We have conquered the country by the sword, and so long as I am living, Persian shall also live."

Another great change was, that the correspondence between the Minister and the Residency began to be carried on through Major Gough and Syed Hussain Bilgrami.—The Munshi Khana remained, to all intents and purposes, merely in name, and Munshi Mohamed Siddik, who held charge of this office hereditarily, and never left the side of the Minister, whether at Headquarters or on a journey, could with difficulty gain an interview,—Major Gough being a military man, was not a penman ; and although Mr. Syed Hussain wrote so elegantly, that even those whose mother-tongue was English, admired his scholarly style, yet the late Minister (Sir Salar Jung I.) never consulted him on matters of policy or entrusted any administrative work to him. He and Mr. Bowen, in the capacity of Private Secretaries, only carried on ordinary correspondence, as, for instance, replies to communications from the Residency, and had no concern whatever with political and administrative matters.

After Mr. Bowen's death Major Gough who was made Military Secretary on the recommendation of Captain Clerk, was appointed Private Secretary, and Mr. Syed Hussain remained as his assistant during the late Minister's lifetime, though he continued to attend to correspondence such as that referred to above. But now be became the Minister's own adviser, who honoured him with the appellation of " Uncle," and he began to intervene in all matters.*

On the other hand, Mr. Mehdi Ali, who as Revenue and Finance Secretary, held one of the highest appointments in the State, lost all colour and scent like a drooping four-o'-clock flower ; and although he continued to visit the

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* Vide Government Gazette Extraordinary, 6th January, 1885, re the changes in the administration of the State.

Minister's palace, with his book of morals under his armpit, lessons aside, he found it difficult even to get an interview with the Minister.

As for the writer he remained aloof and secluded in his own house ; and Mr. Krohn retired on pension, and left for his country.

Captain Clerk, however, visited the Royal palace with many hopes pent up in his heart. He had come to believe that His Highness would make him his Private Secretary, and place also under his charge the Sarfikhas Secretariat ; and he had great hopes of realizing his ambitions through the help of Mahboob Yar Jung Bahadur and Afsur Jung Bahadur, his protégés and also through that of Mr. Syed Hussain Mohtamin Jung Bahadur, who was his especial friend because of their extraordinary influence with the Minister. But as he was wanting in strength of character, the Minister did not consider his presence compatible with his future safety, and making the Resident agree to his proposal, he pensioned him off and sent him home. He then appointed Mr. Syed Hussain Bilgrami, who was already his adviser, to the post of Private Secretary to His Highness and Superintendent of the Royal Palace.

The opportunity which Mr. Mehdi Ali sought, now presented itself. Being very learned himself—in fact, more clever than necessary—he had men of all shades of knowledge under him as assistants, and now, when the Minister was in need of a literary man who knew English, he, Mr. Mehdi Ali, selected from among his subordinates, one Faridunji,* who, although he could not write so elegantly as Mr. Syed Hussain, was specially efficient in correspondence relating to administrative matters, and placed him at the disposal of the Minister, believing that he would be able to control him.

Now, God had gifted Nawab Laik Ali Khan with a wonderfully strong and retentive memory, and Mr. Syed Hussain and Mr. Faridunji wrote lengthy addresses for him, which he, at a glance, committed to memory, and then delivered them so unhesitatingly and with such good effect, that people were deceived into believing that they were composed by him. He could hardly write, but spoke English and Persian well.

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* Afterwards Sir Faridunji-ul-Mulk, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.B.E, Late Miscellaneous Member of H.E.H. the Nizam's Executive Council, who, to the regret of all, passed away recently.

And so now Mr. Syed Hussain and Moulvi Mehdi Ali confronted each other as experienced wrestlers, and began to dodge and face about with the result that not only the relations between the two, but also those between them and His Highness, and those between His Highness and the Minister became strained.

The Minister then deputed Hussan bin Abdulla to approach Mr. Syed Hussain Bilgrami, and explain matters to him; but the former foolishly reminded Mr. Syed Hussain of his earlier days, and added that he owed his position entirely to the Minister's house. At this the Syed, getting into a temper, replied that he was not the slave of his (the present Minister's) father.*

Nawab Laik Ali Khan then remembered me, and sent Mr. Hussan bin Abdulla to see me. As I happened to be at prayers, he met my father in-law Nawab Fakhruddin Khan, and left the Minister's message with him. It was this:—

"Hazrat, come out of the seclusion of your house, and bring about an understanding between myself and His Highness. If you succeed, I will grant Mansabs to all your people, and will also pay you two or three lakhs of rupees. I will fulfil the promise of my father to confer a Jagir on you, with the permission of His Highness."

Nawab Fakhruddin Khan congratulated me, and asked me not to let this opportunity pass out of my hands, and advised me to step out of my way to do my best in the matter.

I observed silence, and when, in the afternoon, Mr. Hussan bin Abdulla called again, I told him that I had served both the Ruler and the Minister in the days of their boyhood, and since the question of reward was raised, my reply was that I would not betray my master, and until I found the extent to which His Highness's was displeased, I could make no promise against His Highness's wishes in the matter. Mr. Hussan bin Abdulla was put out, and said I, too, was proving ungrateful and unworthy of my salt (to the Minister).

Then after a fortnight or so, Mr. Mehdi Ali visited me and spoke to me thus:

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* *Vide* account of controversy, "Deccan Times," 6th September, 1884.

"My friend arise, and praise God that you are righting yourself with the Minister. Forget the past, and come with me."

I told him to let me remain as I was, saying that I should be smashed between the collision of the two mighty combatants. He replied that my foolishness knew no bounds, seeing that I was letting such a splendid opportunity pass out of my hands.

After that Abdul Huq came to see me, and I gave him the same reply. He then suggested that there could be no harm in my going to the Minister, and making my reply to him personally.

Thinking now that any further refusal on my part might be attributed to my alleged hostility towards the Minister, I consented to accompany Abdul Huq.

That day a grand 'At Home.' was in progress in the Khana Bagh, and a large crowd of Dewani officials were present. The Minister caught hold of my hand, and walking along, took me aside. He then said, "Your displeasure with me is undoubtedly well-founded, but you must forget that matter. Don't think of me, but think of my dead father."

I might here relate what that matter was.

On the 6th Jamadi-ul-awal, 1301 H., His Highness, when at Sarurnagar had fallen a victim to cholera, and his condition reached almost the last stage. The Residency Surgeon, Dr. Beaumont, reported this fact to the Resident, and the Minister, believing that a Council of Regency would again be established, sent Mr. Syed Hussain to Amir-i-Kabir for consultation and future action.

Leaving His Highness's side, I unluckily, in a great state of anxiety and with tears in my eyes, happened to visit Amir-i-Kabir. The Syed, on seeing me, closed his conversation and left, and then the Nawab told me that Laik Ali Khan had sent Mr. Syed Hussain to him, in order that they might approach the Resident with a view to meeting future contingencies. I replied that up till then, relying on God's mercy, we hoped for a good turn.

Subsequently His Highness fully recovered from the attack, as we had hoped, and then the Minister being afraid that Amir-i-Kabir would inform His Highness of what had passed between them, found an opportunity to represent to His Highness that Sarvar Jung and Amir-i-Kabir had approached the Resident with the proposal of Zuffer Jung's succession.

When I came to know this, I immediately wrote a petition informing His Highness of the true facts, and Amir-i-Kabir also sent the Resident's letter contradicting the accusation.

Now I return to my story.

While the Minister was talking to me, Moulvi Mehdi Ali, Hussan bin Abdulla and Abdul Huq came over.

Owing to my being there, and in the Minister's presence, I could not but promise to visit the palace again, to see what turn affairs there were taking, but at the same time I asked the Minister not to keep on summoning me, and assured him that I would come of myself if necessary.

The next day, after Magrib prayers I went to the palace. His Highness was seated on a settee in the courtyard, and all his companions were also present. A poetical entertainment was in progress, and I thought to myself that, if I could concentrate my mind to compose a poem, I could with better excuse take part in it. I therefore began to think, and quietly jotted down my thoughts with a pencil. The following are a few couplets of the Ghazzal that I managed to compose :—

" My heart, the Kaaba of love, quivers with sorrow for years.
My beloved's face remains printed on my heart for years.
It is the effect of our name, no blame on you, beloved.
The turned-up sleeve in wrath has not been turned down for years.
You come as light to my eyes—your coming makes my house as a garden.
Stop for a few moments, if you cannot for years.
The King of the Deccan is a patron of letters—come, oh, Hazik,* quickly.
You sat doing nothing, sorrowful and listless, in your house for years."

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* *Hazik*—the poetic name of the writer.

The meeting lasted till late in the evening. At the time of the distribution of " Pan," His Highness honoured me with one, and pushed with his own hands the golden "Pan Dhan" towards me. A short while afterwards I returned home not thinking it advisable to remain longer.

After a few visits to the palace, I became aware that interested persons prolonged the affair, and that with the exception of Mir Riasat Ali (Mahboob Yar Jung), there was no one who could put in a good word for the Minister, and that His Highness disliked the very mention of his name. I spoke to the Minister about this, and asked him to give a hint to Mohamed Ali Beg (Afsur Jung) to second my efforts. He sighed deeply, and said that that gentleman was more hostile to him than anybody else and that he had refused to see his messengers. Then, requesting me to exert myself on his behalf, he admitted that His Highness's mind could not now be wholly cleared in respect of him, but that he only wished for a " modus operandi," so that the work of administration might not be brought to a stand-still. And he reminded me of my own quatrain, *viz* :—

> " Set fire, set fire, oh, let it burn the heart My beloved deserves that chastisement. Make me shed tears—yes, shed tears, that I may in them drown. These eyes of mine deserve that treatment."

Now hear this. Somehow Nawab Amir-i-Kabir and the Maharaja came to know that I was trying to support Nawab Laik Ali Khan, and they cornered me tightly about it. I, on my side spoke to them of the real facts. Nawab Amir-i-Kabir suggested that there was no possibility of a reconciliation, because Mr. Syed Hussain's uncalled for correspondence had made Mr. Cordery and the Foreign Office favour Nawab Laik Ali Khan's claims completely, while on the other hand, His Highness had become obdurate ; and he advised me to stop interfering in the matter as quickly as possible. He added that if Laik Ali Khan cared to take his advice, he would tell him to send the intriguers, bag and baggage to their homes, for then his reconciliation with His Highness would only be a matter of time.

I now began to scent danger to myself, and I consulted

Moulvi Mehdi Ali (Muneer Jung) and Abdul Huq (Sirdar Diler Jung). The former said that Khurshed Jah, being an enemy, was trying to frighten me, but Syed Abdul Huq said that the Nawab Amir-i-Kabir was telling the truth. The Government of India was entirely in favour of Salar Jung, and Mr. Cordery had written a very severe and impertinent letter to His Highness. It was therefore advisable for me to get out of this.

I was thinking as to what course to adopt, when, one day, Amir-i-Kabir's servant, Syed Mir, came and said that Nawab Sahib wanted me at once. I accompanied him without delay, and the Nawab Sahib told me that His Highness wished to see me, and that the command was that he should bring me over. I flatly declined to go and suggested that my having an interview in his company with His Highness, might be very harmful, and was very impolitic, and that His Highness should summon me directly. The Nawab Sahib also favoured my opinion, and said that he would inform me again.

Accordingly after three or four days Syed Mir brought a "palki" (palanquin) with him, and asked me to get in and closed the door, and then get along to Lingampalli garden and alight in the zenana quarters of the palace, so that nobody could see me. Wonderingly, I accompanied him.

The house was empty except for Zuffer Jung, who was sitting alone. He informed me that His Highness was coming alone, and that it was his wish that nobody should know about this interview. In the meantime Nawab Amir-i-Kabir Bahadur also came.

I said my Zohar, Assur, Magrib and Issha prayers there, and also had my dinner there.

At about one o'clock in the morning, His Highness came, driving a dog-cart with a black pony, and with only one syce and Tippu Khan to accompany him. He accepted our "Nuzzers," and took his seat on a chair. We also sat around the table.

Then, turning to me, His Highness said, "Hazrat, you may be aware in what difficulties I am enmeshed."

I humbly replied that I had no knowledge of them; that I had heard only from Abdul Huq that the Government of India was completely on the side of Salar Jung, but that I had not understood why the Government of India should interfere in our private arrangements.

On this the Amir-i-Kabir put in that the Government had likewise interfered in the times of H.H. Afzul-ud-dowlah.

I said that that also must have been due to some mistake in policy. I met Laik Ali Khan more than once, and found him much frightened and worried, and he believed that His Highness, personally was not displeased with him, and laid the blame for the present state of affairs on Mr. Syed Hussain and others.

Nawab Khurshed Jah said that he had declared before, that unless the self-interested "Pardasis" were turned out, we should continue to be worried.

His Highnesss replied that all that was nonsense. See the attitude Laik Ali Khan had taken up in respect to himself. For instance, without permission and knowledge, he did what he liked in important matters.—"He will sit on a chair, with legs straightened out, while I stand; he will take out cigarettes and smoke without hesitation in my presence; and in spite of strict orders, he wears whatever dress he likes at Court functions, and will sit with his back turned towards me, laughing and joking with others. He did not consider me even equal in rank, but lower."

I said I was surprised at his recalcitrant behaviour towards His Highness. His late father had similarly complained to me, and had related that once, when he was driving out to some function, and had ordered his two sons to be present, ready dressed at Khana Bagh, they were not there when he came down, and only turned up after much delay; and when he showed his displeasure towards them at this disrespectful behaviour, they said, "Father, you are quick tempered."

The late Minister turning to me, said sarcastically, that that was due to my tuition.

His Highness then asked me what I had to say in this matter, and, in reply, I quoted this couplet :—

> "You won't find so devoted a servant as I in the world, even if you search with the light of your beautiful countenance."

" Your Highness's devoted servant." I added, " is ready to sacrifice himself."

At that juncture I was reminded of a dream that I had had a long time before. In that dream it was as if I saw His Highness, the late Afzul-ud-dowlah, lying prone on his bed, while a lady bedecked with jewellery was sitting close to him ; Khurshed Jah was standing at the head of the bed, and Zuffer Jung was at the opposite end. His Highness asked me to go near him, and then said, " My son is in trouble, and you are sitting doing nothing at home."

I related this dream, and then quoted the following couplet :—

> " Who can dare my heart entice or enmesh,
> we who are wont to look in thine eye."

I said His Highness should ease his mind, and suggested that when Mr. Cordery, who was a good man, came to know the real facts, a new move would be made on the chess-board. The present state of affairs was due to mistaken policy.

His Highness then rose, and said, " Very well, you come to me to-morrow, and I'll show you all the papers."

We separated, and the next day, about the afternoon, I went to the palace.

His Highness, on being informed, immediately came forth from the zenana, and summoned me to his office-room. Then sending for his despatch-box, be placed the whole correspondence before me.

I went through the papers carefully, and the effect on me of His Highness's letters, drafted by Mr. Syed Hussain and addressed to the Resident, was to make me feel that it was as if an applicant were writing to a superior person, requesting a favour at his hands. Perhaps the letters had a similar effect on the Resident's mind, and he had been led to believe that His Highness was not really displeased with his Minister, and that a reconciliation would come about in a few days. Mr. Cordery's reply however, was very impolitely worded. Briefly, it was to the effect that His Highness's deposition from the " Gadi " would be easy, but Nawab Laik Ali Khan's dismissal was impossible.

His Highness, with tears in his eyes, declared that his life was not worth living.

I respectfully asked His Highness not to give way to grief, reminding him that Mr. Cordery was a subordinate official; and further, that not only did His Highness to-day possess the status of Amir-ul-Momineen and Khalifa with the Muslims in India, but also the Hindu Rajahs looked upon him as their Maharaja, and, up to the present day, addressed "Kharitas" to him for "Thil" and Sugar, and held "pooras"* in Aurangabad. Apart from this, His Highness's sovereignty was of a much earlier date than the Government of India, and was not like Mysore or Baroda, where the position of Ruler was either bought and paid for, or the prince was brought from the field and placed on the "Gadi." There could not be any doubt that the British Empire to-day was very powerful grand and glorious, but it would be to suppose it bitten by a mad dog, to think that it would depose a great ruler for the sake of a minor official.

These were merely Mr. Cordery's threats, I continued, and that the British Government was under such obligation to His Highness, that it could not raise its head. But for the clever ruse of Mir Sadik Ali, Tippu would have been a Sultan of Southern India, and if His Highness's troops had not gone into action at the battle of Assaye,† the Mahratta nation would have established its sovereignty not only over Balaghat and Lower Ghat, but extended it right into Central India. In the Mutiny of 1857, the Hindu states, whether Mahratta or Rajput, were turning their eyes towards Hyderabad and if H.H. Nazir-ud-dowlah had moved a step forward, no trace of the English would have been left in India. Sir Salar Jung I. His Highness's loyal Minister, had, true to his salt, rescued the British at the most critical hour of their existence. (Mr. Stuart Elphinstone's famous telegram to the British Resident, "If the Nizam goes all is lost.") The British might well forget the deep debt of gratitude that lay on their shoulders, and might content themselves to-day with with mere lip-thanks, but it could not be imagined that they would punish the master for the sake of a servant.

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* There are 54 suburbs (puras) to the City of Aurangabad. Of these a couple, like Aurang Pura and Begum Pura are populated, but the rest are in ruins or falling into ruins.

Jaswant Pura, Pahar Singh Pura, Kutub Pura, Beluch Pura, Karim Pura, Padani Pura, were inhabited by the Rajas who accompanied Aurangzeb to the Deccan.

Subkaren Pura and Pahar Singh Pura belong to the Raja of Bundel-khund, Padampura and Karanpura to the Raja of Bekanir, and Jai Singh Pura to the Raja of Jaipur.

(For further details *vide* "History of Bijjapur," 3rd part, p. 53, by Moulvi Bashiruddin Ahmed.)

† *Assaye*—is a village close to Jalna, a taluka of the Aurangabad District, in the Nizam's Dominions. Here, on the 23rd September, 1803, Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, with less than 5,000 men, defeated the Mahratta host, which, under European leaders, numbered more than 10,000.

I asked His Highness not to be aggrieved, but to reply to the Resident in a similar strain to his, and end the controversy. I would, I said, if His Highness commanded, draw up a reply for his signature.

My conversation relieved His Highness, and he said, "Write what you want to."

Accordingly I took up the pen and wrote a few lines, and placed them before him. The gist of which was this, "Your letter was not such as to evoke a reply, but as the matter is important, I have to inform you that I cannot work with Laik Ali Khan for a single day. I have therefore dismissed him, and I will soon let you know whom I appoint in his place, in order that you may inform the Government of India."

His Highness considered this letter for some time, and at last took up the pen and signed it. He then quoted the following couplet :—

"I my works to God entrusted, to see what
He, the Architect, has in mercy for us."

He then observed it was well—that these impertinences ought to be stopped and placing the letter in my hand, commanded me to take it to Mr. Cordery.

I picked up courage to suggest that it would do no harm, if Afsur Jung took it, but His Highness looked annoyed, and said, "Let all these alone—I have tried them."

I took the letter, and went to Nawab Amir-i-Kabir and informed him of the fact. He felt very glad and said, "Well done!" and then enquired what reply I could make to Laik Ali Khan.

I swore by God that I had not done this with any sense of animosity towards Laik Ali Khan. It was the duty of every loyal subject, whether Hindu or Muslim, to maintain the dignity of His Highness, and Mr. Cordery was not entitled to treat a premier ruling chief with such contempt. And I added that I could even now make up matters with Laik Ali Khan.

The Nawab then inquired who would replace Nawab Laik Ali Khan. I replied that it depended on His Highness's pleasure. Zuffer Jung said it was their turn now, and requested me to exert myself on their behalf.

From there I went direct to the Residency. Mr. Cordery used to be very kind to me. He had given me a signed copy of his translation of Homer's Iliad, and we often conversed on literary subjects ; but now, on reading the letter, he became incensed, and said, "Server Jung, this is your writing." I admitted that it was so, but that the letter was His Highness's.

Then he asked if I knew what the result of it would be, and I replied that, being a servant, I had no concern with the result—my duty was to carry out orders.

Mr. Cordery then said that he would not permit a third man to interfere between him and His Highness; that he would personally reply to him, and that he would have to take back the letter.

I arose silently, and went to Nawab Amir-i-Kabir, from there to the Royal Palace.

It seemed as if His Highness were awaiting me, I informed him fully of all that had passed, and His Highness enquired what should be done then.

I humbly suggested that this was merely the indignation of a squirrel, which, on seeing the cat, runs up the tree and begins to chirrup, chirrup ! If Mr. Cordery returned the letter, His Highness should tell him emphatically that it was not a private note, and that he understood that the correspondence which passed through him, the Resident, would reach the hands of the Viceroy. His Highness should also tell him that he had informed him of the dismissal of the Minister and that he would also inform him of the new appointments.

Mr. Cordery came, and went back discomfited.

Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy, immediately replied that he would himself visit Hyderabad and that he would be obliged if His Highness did not take any further steps in the matter till then.

Mr. Cordery, to save his face, went away on several months' leave and Colonel Ross was sent to act for him. This gentleman * was a plain soldier, and soon fell into the meshes of those who were favouring Laik Ali Khan ; and he frightened His Highness out of his wits, by saying that not only the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, but also both Houses of Parliament, and even the Queen-Empress herself, felt themselves to be under such obligations to H.E. Sir Salar Jung. that they would not permit any harm to his son, or, for the matter of that, to any member of his family. He also told His Highness that his advisers, who were making him fall out with the Minister, were disloyal people. The effect of this was to create a great fear in His Highness's mind, and he felt worried over it. He summoned me again, and, with tears in his eyes, enquired what could be done now.

I humbly replied that whatever Colonel Ross had said was true, and that if His Highness wished, I would bring Laik Ali Khan and make him fall at his feet.

His Highness replied that a reconciliation with him was now impossible. He would rather relinquish the throne than do that.

On hearing this, tears came into my eyes, and I said that if his Highness were determined to dismiss him, it could be effected without much difficulty, and I, his devoted servant, was ready to sacrifice myself in the attempt. I quoted the following couplet :

> " I seek no reward for duties performing;
> dead or alive my endeavours continuing."

I suggested that I should first meet Colonel Ross, so as to ascertain what he intended doing, and after that I should be able to form my opinion.

His Highness asked when I could visit him and I replied that if I were allowed a Government carriage and a " chobdar," I would go at once. It was so arranged, and I reached Bolarum with pomp.

Colonel Ross was having his tea, which he made me share, and then asked a few questions about myself. I told him that I was Highness's tutor, his education having been entrusted to me ; that I did not possess any admin-

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* Resident from 13th April, 1886, to October, 1886.

istrative post; and that I had simply to attend at the Royal Palace and carry out orders that were given to me.

He then enquired what work I had with him, and I replied that I had simply come to see him.

He was silent for a few minutes, and then, after saying it was good that I had done so, he questioned me as to why His Highness and his Minister had fallen out.

In reply, I asked him to tell me whether in Europe no disagreement ever occurred between King and Minister; and he burst out laughing, and said, " You appear to have read the history of European countries."

I said that in every country such incidents had occurred under personal rule; but the King is the master, and the Minister is his servant, and the latter's dismissal or continuance in office was at the pleasure of the King.

Then he asked whether dismissal could be without any reason, and I replied that when the master found that one of his servants was not necessary or useful, did he not dismiss him? The retention of the servant depended on the pleasure of the master.

Then he again asked as to why and when this hostility began. I said that my inference, which was turned into a belief, was this, that in the days when His Highness almost loved his Minister, the Minister committed a mistake in regard to a religious matter. The Minister was a Shiah, and under incitement by some fanatics, he allowed his co-religionists to bring out a " zaree." with all its paraphernalia and ceremonies in the city.—(" Zaree " means a replica of Imam Hussain's tomb in Karbela. It is a sacred emblem with the Shiahs, around which the passion play is enacted with great ceremony).*—The City people therefore became frenzied, and Nawab Amir-i-Kabir, throwing aside his turban, wrapped his handkerchief around his head (as a sign of mourning), and wrote to the

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* The models of the Tombs of Hasan and Hussain, or the models of buildings containing the Tombs, which are carried about in procession during the ten days of Muharram. On the tenth day the models of the Tombs are buried or, in some places, thrown into water. The model of the building, if made of cheap materials, shares the same fate; if costly, it is carried back and deposited in the Dargáh or Karbela.

Resident and His Highness, that if the " Zaree " were taken out in the City, rivers of blood would flow, and he would be the first to drink the cup of martyrdom. From that time the love between the ruler and the minister gradually changed into aversion.

Hearing this, Colonel Ross was much surprised, and said that he had lived a long time in Persia, and he was aware of the hostilities between the Sunnis and the Shiahs, but that he had heard that the private secretary was at the bottom of the disagreement, and that otherwise His Highness, personally, was well disposed towards his Minister. He also said that certain men in the company of His Highness were not good.

Then having spoken a few commonplaces, he stood up and, shaking me by the hand, said that he was very pleased to have met me.

I said that I was in the habit of calling on the Residents.

Yes, he said, he had read my name in the book and had thought I was a Persian.

From there I went direct to the Royal palace, and related all the facts. His Highness laughed when he heard the story of the " Zaree."

I humbly suggested that now His Highness should depute Nawab Khurshed Jah to meet the Resident, because, generally speaking, the weight of one's opinion depended upon the rank he carried. Besides, His Highness possessed men like Moulvi Syed Hussain and Afsur Jung. —the one being a literary man of well-known merit, and the other, who had served in the Contingent, being wary and astute—and that I would likewise prevail on Abdul Huq, who was a good man of sound judgment. In the meanwhile, I added, I would continue to pray to God, night and day, for His Highness's complete victory in this matter, which now depended entirely on the Viceroy's visit.

His Highness replied that that was all right, but he would not let me remain doing nothing.

He then enquired what steps should now be taken. I said that the matter demanded reflection, and that I would express my humble opinion later on, but I could not refrain from saying this, that the work of administration should not be stopped, and that His Highness should pass orders on matters placed before him by the

Minister, from time to time, or else the blame for it might be laid on His Highness.

Although I did not wish to say anything against the State officials, I went on, the time had come to lay the real facts before His Highness, so that he might know the exact situation. Sir Stewart Bayley's view, when he came here, had been, that Laik Ali Khan, although entitled to the Prime Ministership, should be placed under the Maharaja Peshkar for some time, in order that he might learn the work of administration. This policy however, was resented by the officials concerned, the Maharaja being unknown to them, and they to the Maharaja ; and therefore they collected round Nawab Laik Ali Khan, with the result that the work of administration was interfered with. His Highness was aware with what indignity the old man was dismissed. Afterwards they were still further encouraged to create a belief in the minds of the British officials, from the Resident to the Foreign Office, that the ruler and his minister were both youthful and inexperienced, and that, in fact, they were the persons whose advice and help even the late Minister was in need of. The result was that the Resident and the Foreign Office decided to make these men responsible for the peace and order of the state, while they lost confidence in both the Ruler and his Minister.

His Highness replied that he now understood why these men had gathered round Nawab Laik Ali Khan—because they thought their safety depended on his continued existence. And he asked me to explain to Moulvi Mehdi Ali and Abdul Huq that they were his servants, and not Laik Ali Khan's and his father's—in fact, Kurshed Jah should send for these men and explain matters to them.

Now let me write something about myself.

When Mr. Cordery's letter was replied to, as mentioned above, a great commotion was the result at the Minister's palace. Moulvi Mehdi Ali came to me and saying, " Friends stealing and Saints defrauding ! " asked why I had done this, adding that I had merely complicated matters, and that I should come to grief over it ; and he advised me to retire to the seclusion of my house again, and leave him and Mr. Syed Hussain to put the matter right.

And Hussan bin Abdulla came with upturned sleeves, and said that I had proved more unworthy of my salt than Mr. Syed Hussain and that in spite of everything to the contrary they would remain unscathed to the end. The dismissal of Imad-us-Saltanat he said, was not child's play, and he warned me that I had sown thorns in my way.

They then began to subject me to attacks; in fact, they thought I should be arrested on some criminal charge. They also tried their level best to bring me into contempt with Colonel Ross, who in one of his interviews with His Highness, told the latter that he had heard that he had acted on Server Jung's advice. And the Colonel even added that he had met Server Jung, and that he did not think that he was loyal to the State.

His Highness, however, replied that I had been his tutor from his boyhood, and that at the present time, barring myself, he had no confidence in anybody else; and he requested the Colonel to have confidence in me also, as he intended sending me to him.

Accordingly by command, I again visited Colonel Ross. He met me very kindly, and said that he now understood that if I had tried, the dispute would be settled. I asked him to shew me the way to do so, and that I would act accordingly.

Colonel Ross then said that Sir Salar Jung was a great man, and that the whole British nation was under obligation to him. I replied that I was myself indebted to him, and honoured his memory deeply, and that Nawab Laik Ali Khan, who had been my pupil, had also every claim on me; but I requested him to show me how to proceed, so that his efforts might be crowned with success.

He said, " You make His Highness understand that we sympathise with the Minister, and will not let him be dismissed."—Therefore His Highness should pardon him; and if he preferred it, he, the Colonel, would get any condition His Highness wished, submitted to the Minister. And he added that they were not so ungrateful as not to save the son of their benefactor from dishonour and his house from destruction.

" Colonel," I said, " I should like to ask you one question. Was Sir Salar Jung the Ruler and the Master of these dominions! If His Highness, the late Afzul-ud-dowlah, had not approved his policy, and stopped him, would Salar Jung have achieved anything ? It is strange that leaving aside ' our faithful Ally, the Nizam,' by whose order all was done, the services of the Minister alone should thus be recognised ! "

Colonel Ross said that all my arguments were useless, and as he was only here for a few days, Mr. Cordery would see to it ; and he added that I was fanning the flames, and not seeing the dispute settled.

To that I replied that I would speak to him plainly, and inform him that those gentlemen, whom he considered responsible for the peace and order of the State, were the cause of this conflagration ; and that although His Highness had summoned me only recently, I believed, and was indeed, quite confident, that His Highness had resolved to change the ministry, and that the more he was pressed, the more obdurate he would become. His Highness was only awaiting the arrival of the Viceroy.

We conversed in a similar strain for a short time more, and then bidding Colonel Ross, good day, I left.

I knew now that the officials of the State had girded up their loins to injure me. And an excellent opportunity for them to do so soon presented itself. One night my coachman got drunk, and, in a state of drunkenness, riding out on my children's pony to Sarurnagar, fell on the way with such force that he fractured his skull. My servant Amir brought in both the coachman and the pony, but at the gate of my house, Amir and the coachman's wife fell to fighting. To be brief, the woman took her husband to the Police Dispensary, which was in charge of an Anglo-Indian doctor named Johnson, and the man died there.

The next morning while I was still engaged in prayers, Hakim Syed Ali, whom I had got employed in the State service, came to me, and said, " In what oblivion are you ? The Kotwal, Akbar Jung, is charging you with the murder of your coachman."

I replied by asking whether the Kotwal had lost his senses, and stating that I would at once write and inform him of all the facts. And then, just as Syed Ali was asking me not to make such a mistake, a Thanadar (Police Inspector) arrived, and asked my permission to draw up a plan of the spot where I was accustomed to sit. I gave him permission.

Syed Ali now advised me to send for the Civil Surgeon to get a post-mortem performed quickly, or else the body would be interred, and in that case the Police Surgeon's testimony would be the only one to go by. Accordingly I wrote to Dr. Lawrie, who came over at once, and having heard what I had to tell him, he went to the Police Dispensary and did what was necessary. He returned to me and said the case was clear, and he had noted it. He asked me to send Rs. 500 as his fees.

And then with a great flourish a case was trumped up against me. Ten or twelve eye-witnesses were procured, as if, late in the night, they had entered my house and stood close to me, and Dr. Johnson was made to write a report to the effect that I had offered him a bribe of Rs.1000.

The Minister then wrote to His Highness that the charge of murder was proved against Server Jung; and Mr. Cordery, who had returned from leave, wrote that Server Jung should personally conduct his case, not being permitted to engage a barrister or pleader and that, murder apart, he should also be charged with offering a bribe to the Police Surgeon. In short, all preparations were completed for having me hanged.

The coachman's wife was the chief witness, and the Kotwal (Commissioner of City Police) controlled and tutored her.

They tried to send me manacled to the Criminal Courts, in which intrigue the Minister, and the State officials took part, and so also a couple of Palace attendants.

I on my part sent a petition to His Highness, praying that, for God's sake, he would not take my side, or else I should be a ruined man, but that instead of sending me to the Criminal Courts, His Highness would appoint a Commission, with the approval of the Minister and the Resident. I assured His Highness that he would then soon see how I made these ungodly men dance.

Accordingly a Commission was appointed, and the Purana Haveli Palace was selected as the venue. Major Campbell represented the Resident on the Commission, Sirdar Abdul Huq, the Minister, and Khadir Jung was there on behalf of the Durbar. The Kotwal was appointed Public Prosecutor.

Akbar Jung was the well-known protégé of Mr. Tweedie, who was the First Assistant of Mr. Saunders, the then Resident. He was originally employed in the Contingent, but through the favour of Mr. Syed Hussain was appointed Kotwal at the beginning of the régime of Nawab Laik Ali Khan.

The extent to which his short-sighted, misconceived actions militated against the best interests of the State, will be related in its proper place ; suffice it to say that he laid the foundation of breaking up the power of the Arabs* who once formed the pomp, grandeur, and strength of the State.

The prosecution's evidence was produced, and the witnesses, who were all tutored, gave their concocted stories with a flourish, and all as if they had entered my house, in spite of the fact that Arabs and Ali Ghol Pathans stood guard at the gate. And after them, the Kotwal, as prosecutor, was called. He gave his statement stammeringly and appeared obviously frightened.

Now came their chief witness, the wife of the coachman. She bore an immoral character. Also the Kotwal had made the mistake of making her drunk, so that she might speak out unhesitatingly ; but the reverse was the case. Sirdar Diler Jung got up and smelt her mouth, and then asked Mr. Campbell to do likewise. Mr. Campbell said that the case was spoilt, and that they would take Dr. Lawrie's statement. Dr. Lawrie appeared and mentioned all the facts, together with the conclusion he had arrived at from his notes. He also complained against me in that I had not paid him his fees, and requested the Court to order payment. I at once laid the money on the table, and Dr. Lawrie took it and went away.

The members of the Commission now consulted. Mr. Campbell thought the case was proved, but Khadir Jung and Sirdar Abdul Huq differed, and said they would write separate judgments.

I was accordingly informed that judgment would be delivered the next day ; and to my remark that " defence evidence " had not been taken, no reply was made.

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* Fight between police and Arabs on 10th Mohurrum, 1303 H., leading to the appointment of a Commission.—For fuller account, see " Hyderabad Affairs."

Mr. Campbell went from there to the Minister's palace, and thence to the Resident.

Finally the Commissioners delivered a unanimous judgment that the case should be struck off, and Server Jung acquitted on all charges. I, washed in milk and bathed in honey, returned home, and preparations for my incarceration at Zaffergarh proved futile.

But Mr. Cordery wrote a letter to His Highness, saying that though Server Jung was acquitted on all charges, he still had to answer the charge of mismanaging his house, so that a life was lost ; and therefore, he should remain interned in his house for six months, and be instructed to manage his house more carefully in future.

His Highness showed me this letter, and I said that when His Highness summoned his devoted servant in the beginning, I had then understood what would happen to me. And I quoted the following couplet :—

> " To be able to cast my eyes on your face, oh, beloved, I must first immolate myself ; One who wishes to buy you, must first sell himself."

I implored His Highness to have mercy on his devoted servants, and put an end to these troubles, and pointing out that there could be only two methods of doing so. Either I would bring along Laik Ali Khan with me, for His Highness's pardon, and bind him with such conditions that he would not be able to raise his head again. Or, His Highness should use his royal prerogative and dismiss Laik Ali Khan and honour some other nobleman with his post.

His Highness enquired whom he should select instead of Laik Ali Khan ; and I said that before I could express my opinion, I would relate an historical incident.

Lord Dalhousie sought Sir John Lawrence's advice as to the person who would be the best man to administer the Punjab, and Sir John replied that, if he were not suspected of partiality, then, to the best of his knowledge and belief, he would suggest that none other than his brother, Sir Henry Lawrence, could be found. Lord

Dalhousie at once entrusted the administration of the Punjab to Sir Henry Lawrence.

The friendship existing between the Amir-i-Kabir and myself was well-known, and he looked upon me as his brother.—" In your devoted servant's humble opinion," I said, " no better minister could be found than he."

His Highness, after hearing this, said that the matter required deliberation. The arrangements for the Viceroy's visit* and his entertainment were now in progress. The Dewani officials began to rush towards the Residency, and daily consultations with Mr. Cordery were taking place.

At last Lord Dufferin entered Hyderabad. The details of the Durbar, Dinner and Parties in his honour, are too lengthy to be given here, and also they are foreign to the subject. To be brief, the Governor-General of India and the Ruler of the Deccan met two or three times and Lord Dufferin sounded His Highness. Also Mr. Cordery used all his power to force Lord Dufferin's hand, that he might bring about a compromise between the ruler and his Minister; but both Lord Dufferin (and he was considered famous amongst the European statesmen of his day) and Mr. Cordery failed to exercise any influence on His Highness at this juncture.

I am reminded here of a strange incident. During the stay of the Viceroy, Mirza Mohamed Ali Beg Afsur Jung was commanded to make arrangements to hold sports at the race-course. He did so. (He was also ordered to keep the hunting leopards in readiness). In the afternoon His Highness, with his staff, accompanied Lord Dufferin to the sports, and His Highness himself took part in the races and tent-pegging, and won encomiums from Lord Dufferin at his brilliant display. When His Highness was returning towards the Stand, Lord Dufferin went up to congratulate him, and walked alongside His Highness's horse some little distance; the sight of His Highness riding and Lord Dufferin walking by his side, was one which everybody saw and appreciated.

Lord Dufferin, who was a nobleman, and the son of a nobleman, one who was born a Britisher, and in whose veins there was no mixture of foreign or shopman's blood, did not consider it derogatory to walk alongside an Indian Prince ! Compare the course which Lord Reading recently adopted towards His Exalted Highness—it is, to say the least, a sad historical incident*. The difference

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* 27th Safar, 1304 H. (1886 A.D.)

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* Lord Reading's letter published in March, 1926, re retrocession of the Berars.

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The *Pioneer* of Allahabad, which was formerly a declared opponent of all nationalistic activity, has since changed in its policy, and given free expression to its views on the sad plight of the "Indian India." It points out that the Princes, "these pillars of the State," have to contend not only with the bugbear of paramountcy, but also with the ill-conceived and distorted attacks of the Swarajists, and that the introduction of reforms in British India has set aglow the smouldering embers of the dormant nationalism of the intelligentsia of the country, who would turn an Indian Prince into a Constitutional Monarch, and would expect him to support their new-fangled chimera of independence.

The *Pioneer* in its new rôle as a pro-Nationalistic journal, devotes a leader under the caption of what the Princes must do, and shows its keen insight into the secret diplomacy of the Government. Its unbiassed comments on Indian questions are also refreshing. It says :

" The ruling Prince to-day finds himself between the devil and the deep sea. On the one hand, there is the Government of India, whose steady policy since the days of Lord Curzon has served to belittle the order, to restrict its privileges, and to make its individual members toe the line of secret and unmistakable orders ; and on the other hand, there is the rising tide of nationalistic feeling in British India, which, not content with attempting the solution of its own problems, views with inquisitive horror the form of Government found in most of the Indian States.

" The Princes have recently placed voluminous evidence concerning the infringement of their Treaty rights before the Butler Commission, but so inadequately has the publicity of their case been conducted, and, perhaps, so nervous have they been of offending the Political Department, that the general impression that exists in India to-day as to the merits of their case, is that they are not fighting for their strictly legal position as pledged to them in said agreements, but are attempting, somehow or other, to put the clock back, and to stay the march of liberal progress.

" For this incomplete recognition of the actual position of their order, the Princes have themselves to blame. We are aware, for instance, of countless cases in which the Government of India has acted in a most illegal and high-handed fashion, and in which the Prince affected—and we are not concerned at the moment with the merits or the demerits of the case—has been dealt with in secret, and often unjustly. If the Princes concerned in these incidents had recognized the value of a little publicity, the issues would have been between the two courses is so apparent that it does not need comment.*

Now I return to my story, A consultation took place at the Amir-i-Kabir's palace. H.E. the Viceroy and His Highness sat on a couch, Amir-i-Kabir was in front, on a chair, and I was commanded to stand behind His Highness. Lord Dufferin, who knew Persian, began to speak in that language, At that I thought to myself that His Highness's slender knowledge of Persian might become known, and so I picked up courage and said, " Your Excellency, there are many persons here who can understand Persian. It would be better if the conversation took place in English,"

Lord Dufferin, turning, looked at me closely, and said, " Very well ! " And then began to speak to His Highness in English.

The gist of what he said, was that he conjectured that His Highness was not, in his heart of hearts, displeased with Salar Jung—and he would himself say this much,

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vastly different—and what applies to the individual, applies to the order.

" It may be some time, of course, before the Chamber of Princes openly and courageously proclaims its dissatisfaction with its treatment by the Government of India, but the open discussion of such matters is bound to come eventually as a corollary to the step just announced by the Maharaja of Patalia."

The lead thus given by the *Pioneer* is taken up by other Indian journals, as, for instance, the *Orient of Lucknow*, which, in its issue dated the 24th February, 1929, comments on the above, and remarks that, unlike other Anglo-Indian papers, which praise the Princes so long as they keep on good terms with the Political Agents or Residents, and carry out submissively the mandates of the Political Department, but the moment they show signs of independence and question the lordly attitude of Political Officers, condemn them as unfit to rule, the *Pioneer* has a word of sincere sympathy for them, and recognizes the difficulties of their position, hedged in, as they are, on one side by Political Officers, and on the other by a pronouncedly hostile nationalist movement.

* " Considerateness and graciousness on the part of the British Government towards the Native States, are popular in the British Dominions. Harshness or undue severity on the part of the British Government towards the Native States, would be unpopular in the British territories, and would excite unfavourable comment among the educated Natives especially."

Page 62 of " India in 1880," by Sir Richard Temple, Bart.,

The moral of the matter is this. The Native States, with their alleged excessive armaments, their hotbeds of intrigue, and their that Salar Jung was not guilty of any such offence as to deserve such severe punishment; but if for any special reason His Highness disliked him, he could dismiss him, and in that case he would approve of the selection of Khurshed Jah, who was the premier noble and a man advanced in age and experience. But he expressed a wish that His Highness might await his decisision until he reached Calcutta, and till then let the administration go on as it was at present.

After this, Lord Dufferin turned towards Amir-i-Kabir, and remarking that he was ripe in age and experience, said he was confident that he would secure His Highness's approval, and also that he would promote progress in the administration and strengthen the friendship between the two Governments.

But Moulvi Mehdi Ali, using his diplomatic ability and intellectual subtlety, destroyed our long-drawn out efforts in the twinkling of an eye. God had gifted him with such brains, that if he had been born in Europe he would have equalled even Bismarck and Disraeli.

The facts are these. Lord Dufferin had not departed yet—he was leaving on the next morning. It happened that His Highness was seated on a throne near the billiard-

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alleged disloyalty, will remain so until the British Government change their method.

Mr. Wilfred Scawen Blunt wrote in the "Fortnightly Review" of February, 1885, that Hyderabad was most loyal.—And all through a little honest dealing and a little Viceregal sympathy!

The truth is, honesty in the Indian Political Department is a thing enormously wanted; and I will venture to say, that if that Political body would only mend its ways, and treat the Native States according to the same moral principals of straightforwardness and respect for right which each member of the department doubtless acknowledges in his own private life, we should hear no more of disloyalty. Till then, however, we must expect storms; and storms, also, are the element on which the Anglo-Indian thrives!

Lord Ripon's farewell progress through India, with its wonderful demonstration of Native loyalty, should open English eyes to the value of his ideas of rule. Nothing in them was more remarkable than the treatment of Native Princes, and the spectacle of Holkar travelling to Bombay to press his hand for the last time, must have convinced even his worst enemies that there was something advantageous for the Empire in the confidence and affection the departing Viceroy had inspired. An honest course, guileless of all intrigue, is the only safe one in these troublous times. The end of regaining Indian loyalty is a high one, and Lord Ripon's example is there for his successors to follow.

table, and the staff and attendants were all standing respectfully near him. I was also present ; and the Minister, frightened and quivering, was standing near the edge of the " Dahlan," some distance away. His Highness, as was his custom, honoured us with " pan," according to rank. Taking two " pans " in his hands he—perhaps to lower him in the eyes of those present—looked at the Minister, who came forward quickly, saluting and took the " pans." This ordinary incident was magnified into something very important. That is, about ten o'clock in the night Lord Dufferin's letter arrived, saying that he was very glad to hear that His Highness had pardoned Salar Jung, as, being so, he would now leave in the morning, satisfied.

On reading this letter, His Highness showed great anxiety, and I was struck dumb at the subtle machinations of the Diwani officials, which produced such a magic effect.

I fell to thinking how to counteract this new development, and suddenly, by the aid of Providence, an idea struck me. I told His Highness that our opponents had made the most of this offering of a couple of " pans " to the Minister, and by giving free play to their imagination, had managed to construct a palace of magic ; but that it was one which could be dismantled without much difficulty. I then humbly suggested that a reply should at once be given, and His Highness commanded me to draw it up.

I took up the pen and unhesitatingly wrote, " Since you and I were agreed, I handed the " pan " to the Minister as a sign of dismissal. Mr. Cordery is aware of this custom of my Durbar. It is surprising that he had not informed you of it, but, still, I remain firm in my promise to you, that is, that until you write to me from Calcutta, I shall perforce allow the Minister to work."

His Highness read this, and felt relieved, and having signed the letter, commanded me to take it myself.

I grew very anxious, because it was now past one a.m. while on the one hand, to see Mr. Cordery at that hour appeared impossible, on the other, I could not picture to myself the treatment he would mete out to me. With such fears in my mind, I reached the Residency and found everybody fast asleep, but calling a servant, I asked him to deliver the letter to Mr. Cordery, with a request that it should be placed before the " Lat " Sahib (the Viceroy) ; and I left Malliah there to see that the letter was safely delivered.

I then returned and told His Highness that not much harm had been done, but only that Mr. Cordery had got an opportunity to prolong the matter.

I then began, assisted with the advice of Sirdar Abdul Huq, to draw up a long letter, which might be called a " Memorial," in which I gave a detailed account of facts from the beginning of this rupture, right up to the present time ; and in the meanwhile I patiently bore every misfortune that fell to my lot.

The condition of the Sarfikhas (Crown lands) was very bad, and His Highness wished to appoint me Secretary of this Illaqa ; but, on the grounds of policy, I begged to be excused, and recommended Syed Abdul Ruzzack* for the post.

When the Diwani officials came to know of Amir-i-Kabir's nomination, they were greatly alarmed. The Palace attendants were also greatly upset, and he became the centre of attack from all sides, and that to such an extent, that even His Highness was made to suspect the Amir's intentions, and he now had the name of Nawab Bashir-ud-dowlah Asman Jah Amir-i-Akbar, who was just then on a visit to England,† entered, instead of that of Amir-i-Kabir, in the memorial.

When the memorial was completed, it had to be " fair-copied," and as Afsur Jung Bahadur wrote a clear hand, and could write quickly, I had this done by him, although I had had experience of him before. And, according to his habit, he utilized the opportunity to his own great benefit—that is, he immediately cabled advice to Sir Asman Jah of his appointment,‡ just as if the latter were due to his, Afsur Jung's recommendation ; and in this way he laid Sir Asman Jah under such obligation, that during his Prime Ministership he greatly prospered, while on the other hand, he kept the road open for his preferment by the Government, and continued to progress in his military rank.

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* Died 11th Rabia I., 1320 H.

† 20th Rajab, 1304 H.

‡ 20th Shaval, 1304 H.

During the regime of the late Minister 5000 Regular Troops were permitted to be maintained, on condition that they would be under the command of an English officer, but the Government knowing that Mirza Mohamed Ali Beg was a Muslim, and also a trained man, they continued to promote him. They also believed that he being a servant of the Nizam, would be loyal, and would take greater interest in his work, and accordingly, as such men were difficult to obtain, he was, soon after Colonel Nevill's death, appointed Commander of the Regular Troops, and then, soon after that, he became Commander-in-Chief of the State Troops.

After Mehdi Ali, Afsur ul-Mulk Bahadur never lost an opportunity, and he used his judgment to good account. He would worship the rising sun, and then would not hesitate to turn his face from it when it set.

In that memorial a request was made that an Englishman of position should be sent as Private Secretary for some time to His Highness. I had entered this request in the memorial for the reason that I was alone, face to face with men highly astute, highly experienced, and much abler than myself, and I was afraid that any slight mistake on my part might spell ruin to me. Also, as the affair was hanging fire, I thought an Englishman's influence might carry far more weight than mine in settling it quickly —although Mr. Mehdi Ali's opinion was to the contrary.

To be brief, Colonel Marshall, from the Punjab, was appointed* to take up this post of Private Secretary to His Highness the Nizam.

The Colonel began to act queerly as soon as he arrived. Then, he was made to believe that I had attained such influence with His Highness, that for him to maintain his position would be impossible; and, on the other hand, the Diwani officials flocked to him, Moulvi Mehdi Ali posted Faridunji with him, and Sirdar Diler Jung won him over to his views; and, therefore, taking me for his opponent, he, the Colonel turned against me.

Now, hear a strange story. Sirdar Diler Jung told the Colonel that, as he had been appointed for a short time only, he should try and establish himself permanently. Accordingly, with this object in view, he,* in conjunction with the Sirdar and Afsur Jung—they having made common cause—wrote a letter on behalf of His Highness to the Government of India, to the effect that His Highness would give a certain amount of money for the defence of the Afghan frontier, and that he requested the Government to accept it. The reply was that the Government would not accept the cash, but that a small regular force should be formed for the purpose (that is, the Imperial Service Troops) and that they would draw up the rules and regulations of this force.

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* 27th Rabiusani, 1304 H.

Before writing the letter Abdul Huq happened to speak to me about it. I was at my wits' end, and wrote several petitions to His Highness for an audience, and daily attended for the interview, but I did not succeed in my efforts in that direction. In fact I found His Highness was somewhat cooler towards me. At length I came to know that Colonel Marshall had told His Highness that Server Jung and Nawab Amir-i-Kabir had set up an intrigue. Moulvi Mehdi Ali was made to corroborate this. When I asked the latter about the matter he admitted the incident, but said that he was forced to accede to their request, and asked to be forgiven. Be that as it may, the Imperial Service Troops were established, and that not only in Hyderabad, but also in all other Native States. But Colonel Marshall did not gain any advantage. Thus the triumvirate ended.

And now a second triumvirate—Moulvi Mehdi Ali, Faridunji and the Colonel—came into existence, and the Minister was made to believe that there was only one way of saving himself, and that was, for him to send in his resignation while they, the triumvirate, took it upon themselves to get it rejected. Accordingly the Minister wrote his resignation, and gave it to the Moulvi. His Highness however was determined to get rid of the Minister, and so he immediately accepted the resignation.† Moulvi Mehdi Ali and Faridunji were both perplexed at this, and thought the Colonel had played a trick on them. However, Nawab Asman Jah returned in hot haste from

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* For particulars of charges of his acceptance of fruit, of his dealings with Watson and Sons, and of his eventual removal from office, see "Hyderabad Affairs," 1888.

† 24th Rejab 1304 h.

England, and was honoured with the Prime Ministership, and the ex-minister went to live at Poona, where, two years later (7th Zikhad, 1306 H.) he died.

When Nawab Amir-i-Kabir heard the sad news, tears came into his eyes, and he said, " It is a matter of great sorrow that his life was cut short while still a youth." He added that the boy had had strange fortune—that those who benefitted through him were the people who ruined him. His remark was partially correct, for, from among those who flocked to him, there were at least two who benefitted themselves permanently and to such an extent that they finally surpassed in wealth and influence even the great nobles ; for having constituted Sir Asman Jah a ladder, they climbed still higher till after his dismissal, they flew over to Nawab Vikar-ul-Umra's umbrella of State.—The details of this will be mentioned later on.

As for the author, he retired into private life again, with whatever honour and position he had, to pass his days in peace, with his Murshed Syed Padsha Sahib Bokhari.—who belonged to the " Silsilla " of Hazrat Pir* Dastagir—and Khaja Garib Nawaz, and cut himself adrift from State affairs. As the poet Momin has said :—

> " I am one who, for shame, called enough and no further, while there was one who had yearnings to love and be loved."

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* Pir—Guide.

Murid—Disciple.

Pir.—The least capacity of the Pir (Shayk) is that he possesses Kashf-i-Qulb (i.e. reads the minds of his Murids) and Kashfi-Qubur (i.e. is conscious of the condition of the dead in the graves). If he has not this capacity, it is " haram " (forbidden) for him to make Murids. He is the Khalifa of God on earth.—" Inni Jailun fil ardi Khalifa."

Murid.—A Murid performs a " Byat " with the Pir—a covenant with God. A beginner should not be apprised of his defects, so that he is estranged from you. Murids (disciples) are of two kinds, Ordinary and Special, whom the Pir instructs in different ways, according to their aptitudes and temperaments, the former receiving ordinary instructions, and the other instructions that are kept back from the ordinary Murid.

" Shariat is my words, Tariqat is my actions and Haqiqat is my personal condition," said the Prophet (Peace be on Him !) " As Shariatu aqwali wal triqatu wal haqiqatu ahwati."

(For full particulars see " The secret of Ana'l Haqq," and Studies in Tasawwuf," by Khan Saheb Khaja Khan, B.A.).

One day as I came out after saying my morning prayers I saw Moulvi Mushtak Hussain seated in the outer verandah of my house and reading the Koran. The Moulvi on seeing me, closed the Koran and greeted me heartily. A sudder Talukdar in the Districts, he was a very honest and loyal servant of the Government, and hard-working and capable, he kept himself aloof from intrigue, and was known to be a good Arabic and Persian scholar. He was then Special Adviser of Sir Asman Jah.

He told me that I had secluded myself for nothing, and asked me to accompany him to the Nawab Sahib, with whom, he said, he would bring about my reconciliation. I tried to get myself excused, but he took me along with him.

Nawab Sir Asman Jah was of an easy-going nature, and had a sedate temperament. As Sadi says :—

> " Till a man gives vent to speech, his blemishes
> or his virtues remain hidden."

He spoke little, but he met me in an open and frank manner.

While we were talking, a reference to Nawab Amir-i-Kabir was made, and Sir Asman Jah enquired whether I visited him frequently. I said that he and I had known each other for a long time, and that his son was my pupil. After hearing this he was silent.

Shortly afterwards the Moulvi brought me away and said that I had made a mistake in saying what I did, but that he would put it right. He continued that I knew the Nawab Sahib was a simpleton, as nobles generally are. He added that the Nawab had sent several petitions to His Highness, with the request that he should be transferred from the Districts and posted near him, but no reply had been vouchsafed.—" If you are really a well-wisher of the State," he ended, " and wish to close the door of intrigue, then try your best for me."

I asked him for pen, ink, and paper, and said that I would write a petition in his presence ; and I requested him to send it to His Highness himself.

Accordingly I wrote a brief petition, in which I suggested that, as His Highness had honoured Sir Asman Jah with office, it was necessary that he should be allowed men whom he preferred, as otherwise there was danger of confusion, as there had been in the time of Nawab Laik Ali Khan. I added that Sir Asman Jah had confidence in Moulvi Mushtak Hussain, and that I dared through sentiments of loyalty to write this.

Subsequently I heard that my request had been granted, and that the Moulvi had become the right hand man of Sir Asman Jah and a staff for the Nawab to lean upon. he became indeed politically supreme, and appointed Faridunji as his Assistant, to carry on English correspondence, and Hormusji as his legal Adviser; and then having made Mehdi Hussain Fatteh Nawaz Jung his coadjutor in office, he sent Moulvi Mehdi Ali to the wall.

I have referred to Mehdi Hussain above. He and his brother Hyder Hussain read with us in the school at Kaiser Bagh for a short time, but he did not do very well, though he became well-known in buffoonery. Later on he was posted as Munsiff in Oudh, and kept an Anglo-Indian woman whose character was well-known. However he made her observe " Purdah," and was able to acquire some English from her, so as to be able to read and write it. But he was intelligent, and had read some Arabic in his boyhood.

He brought a recommendation from Sir Syed Ahmed Khan to the late Minister, but as the latter had died, Moulvi Mushtak Hussain brought him over to me during the Prime Ministership of the Maharaja, and I had recommended and got him employed in the Judicial Department. But in the short régime of Nawab Laik Ali Khan, he and his mistress secured such influence that, when the Nawab was relieved of his office, he, with the aid of Moulvi Mushtak Hussain, became a companion and adviser to Nawab Sir Asman Jah.

His Highness now granted all powers in regard to policy and administration to Sir Asman Jah, as he had done previously in the case of the Maharaja and Nawab Laik Ali Khan. In important and urgent matters alone, representations were made by Moulvi Mushtak Hussain in the name of the Minister, who had only to sign his name, while Mushtak Hussain was " de facto " Minister, and had for his partner Fatteh Nawaz Jung Bahadur.

The Moulvi was by nature obstinate, and his imagination could not take him higher than a single-storey building. He was also ignorant of English ways and social customs, but this drawback he overcame by posting Faridunji, who was perfectly well aware of these things, as a tame elephant in the midst of untamed ones, in order to get on the good side of the English officials. On the other hand, he took, to co-operate with him, Nawab Fatteh Nawaz Jung, who made no distinction between right and wrong, but who, being astute, was clever enough to check those who were intriguing against the Moulvi. In addition to these, he had also to reckon with Afsur Jung Bahadur, who had already established himself.

As regards myself, it was believed that Colonel Marshall had settled me.

Now there were three Ministers in Hyderabad—the Prime Minister nominally, to affix his signature, and the two smaller ones to administer the State. Colonel Marshall, as the elder brother, was the sixth finger, together with his younger brother, Nawab Afsur Jung Bahadur, who would say, " How could a poor helpless soldier have the courage to interfere in such important State matters." Shortly the elder brother was given a first-class ticket and sent away by the Mail, and the younger brother took his place with the smaller Ministers.

How Abdul Huq came by his end will be related separately ; and as for Moulvi Mehdi Ali he was treated leniently as being their countryman and perhaps by the thought that he had separated Faridunji from himself, and given him over to them. Therefore they relegated him, like an orphan, to the seclusion of his house, and having satisfied themselves that they had done away with intrigue altogether, began to drive the coach of state with the speed of an express train.

To tell the truth, Moulvi Mushtak Hussain's hard work, Mr. Faridunji's sound judgment, and the constancy of Mr. Syed Hussain (who came in after Colonel Marshall), gave the State a special look of brightness and prosperity ; and to their good fortune, Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick,* a well-known and experienced official, was sent by the Government of India in place of Mr.

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* Appointed Resident from 6th August, 1889, to 11th November, 1891.

Cordery, and he, with all his power, began to support these gentlemen.

This despotic rule held its sway for a short time, and with such force to back it up, that the city people and the subordinate officials were overawed, and began to tremble in their shoes. With the exception of those who supported this clique, no one dared approach the Minister ; and if one of the lesser Ministers said in respect of the influence he enjoyed over the Prime Minister, " See, I hold the mirror my beloved's beauty reflecting." another would echo back, " Come, pass the comb, the tresses of my Queen dressing."

And the behaviour of these men might be likened to camels without leads, who, stretching out their necks, snapped in all directions.

Afsur Jung Bahadur, who came to be looked upon as the maker of the Ministry, began to cast longing eyes at the Nazm-i-Jamiath, and to lay his hands on the troops of the Peshkar. In fact the men who formed the Ministry, directed their close attention to the destruction of the house of the Peshkar, root and branch, because prior to their time, the Peshkar was appointed Deputy Minister. This ancient post was now considered a burden on the State Revenues, and superfluous, and Moulvi Mushtak Hussain had, in fact, begun to draw the attention of His Highness to this aspect of the case, while he had won over the Resident to his view.

Raja Hari Kishen, the father of Maharaja Sir Kishen Pershad, used, with his companion, Vittal Pershad, to visit me and speak of their hardships and difficulties, in order to enlist my sympathy and help, and I used to read the following couplet to them :—

> " We came expecting justice, to one, in our dire plight,
> Who was more than us a victim of tyranny's sword."

In this connexion I may say that later, on my recommendation, Sir Kishen Pershad, was appointed Vizier-a-Fouj (Military Minister), and, further, when Sir Asman Jah visited Simla, he officiated for him.

The clique had even cast their eyes on the late Minister's house, but, as they knew full well, that from the Government of India to the English nation, all were in support of it, they decided to bring in a European, to render it innocuous to their schemes, while they kept aloof. Accordingly, in September, 1888, Captain Beauclerck was appointed Superintendent of Salar Jung's estate—and how he conducted himself might well be asked of Sidi Ambur and the ladies of the Mahallat. An annual report was indeed prepared, and presented to His Highness and the Resident, but these men, including the Diwani officials, never set foot in the palace to enquire how the helpless inmates were faring. In fact, it appeared as if they never had any concern whatever with the family of Sir Salar Jung, who was their benefactor ; they, on the contrary, acted as if they were the hereditary servants of the Paigah nobleman. Only an Anglo-Indian nurse, Mrs. Bourillion was appointed to look after the orphan Sahibzada (the present Salar Jung). This good woman, Sidi Ambur, and Syed Abu Turab, alias Abdur Rahman—uncle of Zainab Begum, the wife of Nawab Laik Ali Khan—used to visit me, and complain of their hard lot. Lady Zainab Begum's marriage with the late Minister, came about with my advice, and she used to call me uncle.

Nawab Vikar-ul-Umra had sought the protection of Sir Asman Jah. and took part in consultations, on the government of the country, and thus saved himself from attacks.

As for Nawab Amir-i-Kabir, his influence and dignity were such as to strike terror in the hearts of these gentlemen, and beyond the fact that they created suspicion in the mind of His Highness and the Resident, they could not proceed further against him.

Now the City people and the opponents of the Ministry could not continue to subject themselves to this form of despotic government. Poet Momin has well said :

> " The silent cinders at last flared up—the self-respecting soul stirred up and burst into flame."

Moulvi Mehdi Ali Munir Jung Mohsin-ul-Mulk, was not the sort of man to take things lying down—he was not the proverbial cat to allow his ears to be bitten by mice quietly,—and now lengthy articles began to appear in the press, which caused great indignation in the ranks of these lesser Ministers. Mr. Gribble, who was the author of these literary efforts, was a partisan of Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, but he met the men of the other factions as well. The suspicion therefore fell on Nawab Amir-i-Kabir, and serious complaints were not only lodged with His Highness and the Resident, but indignant eyes were cast on me, retired as I was. One day I was present at the Purana Haveli Palace when Moulvi Mushtak Hussain also happened to be there with some important papers. Turning to me, he hinted that practice in writing newspaper articles was evidently indulged in, and that the next interview with His Highness would envisage the reality. I replied that if the remark was for another, I had nothing to say, but that if it was aimed at me, I would say that he had lost his reason, and, in the words of Firdausi (the great Persian epic poet) :—

> " Come and show what signs of manliness you have,
> With heavy mace and bow of the brave."

And I added that I was such a morsel as would stick fast in the throat.

The Moulvi kept silent, but Nawab Vikar-ul-Umra flared up and said, " We shall see it through."

Now the Imperial Diamond case came off, and, being inordinately delayed, it caused a sensation throughout India. Yakoob Beg Subanji (Jacob), the defendant, cited His Highness as a witness, thinking that his evidence would not be called for, and the case therefore, would fall through ; but Moulvi Mushtak Hussain Vikar-ul-Mulk, remained obstinate, and, getting Sir Dennis on his side, made His Highness appear before the Commission.

His Highness's statement * was taken, and Woodroffe, a well-known barrister, cross-examined so severely that His Highness was very much annoyed and worried. And as for Sir Dennis, he also came in for severe criticism. But the case went on with increasing complications, and, while on the one hand, His Highness was anxious over this case, on the other, the opponents of the Ministry made a new move. The details are these :

Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk went on a visit to England, and there, through his ability and adroitness, gained

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* 1st Rabia I., 1309 H.

such influence that Mr. Gladstone began to look upon him as a statesman, and met him with cordiality, and the two became fast friends.

Soon afterwards Nawab Mehdi Husan Khan Fatteh Nawaz Jung, with his wife, reached England. He was quite as pushing a man as the Moulvi and in the capacity of a minister of Hyderabad, he presented his wife at the levee of the Queen Empress, and himself became a barrister in name,—The pride of these Ministers knew no bounds! There is a well-known story of a sparrow. Once upon a time a sparrow which was one-eyed, picked up a pearl, and placing it in the cavity where its other eye should have been, cried aloud, " The Thing that I have, is not possessed even by a Rajah."

The powers which were granted the Prime Minister, he delegated to these men.

The city people who were simple folk, had not the capacity to intrigue. They said their prayers five times a day, and prayed for deliverance; but the Pardasis, girding up their loins prepared for the fray. The faction of which Mohsin-ul-Mulk was the leader, was the first to advance, and he, and Mohd. Siddik, the engineer, and Syed Ali Bilgrami, worked so well together, that the life of this Ministry was cut short. A Bengali named Mitra, who was in very straitened circumstances, became a tool in their hands, and wrote a pamphlet—and got it published (13th March, 1892)—about Fatteh Nawaz Jung and his wife, in which the facts of their early life were depicted. The reason for this was the fact that a Mr. Plowden, a crafty gentleman, had come in place of Sir Dennis as Resident for a short period.

The author and Mr. Syed Hussain were the two men who knew facts connected with this lady, and as the Syed was completely in favour of the Ministry, suspicion therefore fell on me. As the trite saying goes, " The monkey is made responsible for the misfortunes that fall on the stable."

It was on going to the station on some business, that I heard of the publication of this pamphlet, and that the Resident had called for an explanation in regard to this woman's presentation at the " Drawing-room " of the Queen-Empress, this being considered an act derogatory to the Queen-Empress.

Fatteh Nawaz Jung was called upon to produce evidence and to contradict the pamphlet.

On the third or fourth day Moulvi Ekbal Ali, an important member of the faction supporting the ministry, called on me, and said that Nawab Vikar-ul-Mulk and Nawab Fatteh Nawaz Jung had ordered that I should be cited as witness to contradict the pamphlet ; and he asked me to obey, and give the evidence as requested, saying that otherwise the responsibility would be mine. I replied in the words of Anwari (a famous Persian poet) :—

> " Every misfortune that descends from the sky, although it may be aimed at another, before it reaches the earth, asketh where the house of Anwari is situated."

And I added that he might tell those Ministers of royal dignity, that even my angels were not aware when, how, and where that pamphlet was published, or who was responsible for the disgraceful matter ; and that I did not care either to certify to its truth or to contradict it, but that if they worried me, then, God willing, they should rue the day.

After Moulvi Ekbal Ali had left me, the Prime Minister summoned me, and, not wishing to displease him, I attended his Durbar.

At first Mushtak Hussain took me aside to speak to me, and tried to threaten and frighten me. I replied, in the words of Firdausi, " Where have you seen brave men fight ? You have remained self-satisfied with your strength ! "

And I asked him not to worry me in my retirement, or else the result would not be good for him.

After this, he took me into the room to meet the Minister, and made some sign to him which I happened to see.

The Prime Minister asked me whether I knew Fatteh Nawaz Jung's wife. I replied that he should not put that question to me—that many gentlemen of Lucknow and of the Oudh service were living, whose knowledge of me and whose statements regarding me would be a sufficient answer to the accusation.

He flushed, and said that I should have to give my statement.

I then said that if I were forced to do so, I should have to say that her name was Miss . . . and that she led a fast life.

At my reply the Moulvi began to turn his sleeves, and the Nawab's face reddened.

The Prime Minister and he (Moulvi Mushtak Hussain) then declared that I was the author of this pamphlet. I replied that neither was I the author nor had I any knowledge of its publication or who the author was; but that I knew one thing, and, if my impertinence would not cause me to be hanged, I would speak out, in consideration of my loyal sentiments towards him, the Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister asked me what it was.

I said that if this case were filed, and I were forced to give evidence, then this ministry at least would not remain in power. And having said this, I rose, made my salaam, and went outside.

The Moulvi followed me, and said that I had cut my throat with my own hands. I quoted this couplet to him :—

> " The Day of Judgment, Friend, is close upon us.
> How will the blood of the innocent be hidden ?
> If the ruffian's tongue remains silent, the blood
> staining the sleeve will cry out ! "

And wishing him good-bye, I returned home, anxious and worried.

That night I dreamt that I was driving in a gilt carriage, drawn by a pair of beautiful horses, with one of my acquaintances, and that I visited Moulvi Mushtak Hussain's house; and that the Moulvi dressed in soiled clothes and with a dirty turban on his head, approached my carriage, and entrusted to me a lot of papers that he had brought out under his arm.

I then dreamt that the carriage flew to a great height, and that it then turned into an elephant, and that that elephant, flying, took me to Ceylon. There I alighted in one of the big hotels. Then I awoke.

I spoke about this dream the next morning to my Murshid (May peace be on him !) and he replied that God might make this dream welcome to me and the result might be good.

At that time I could not understand the meaning of what he said, but during my stay at Ajmere a saintly gentleman explained its meaning to me.

To be brief, the next day a written order of the Minister reached me, that I should without delay produce my written statement before him. Now, I thought to myself I was in for trouble,

In these compelling circumstances, I was obliged to dress and go to the Royal Palace; and strange to say, immediately on my being announced, His Highness summoned me to his room.

When my eyes fell on His Highness's countenance, I received a shock, because not only were there tears in his eyes, but his face was as white as if there were not a drop of blood left in it, and great weakness was apparent in his voice.

My eyes became full of tears at the sight, but on my enquiring after his health, His Highness replied that he would tell me about it, but that, first I must let him know why I came; and he added that he himself had wanted to summon me.

I said how could I speak about myself since I found His Highness in that state, and he replied that that did not matter, as he was going to speak about himself to me.

I then informed His Highness of all the facts, and also placed before him the order of the Minister asking for my written statement with regard to Mrs. Mehdi Hussain.

His Highness said that Asman Jah had no right to meddle with me without his permission, since I belonged to the Palace, and he was glad that I had brought the order back to him. He then picked up the Arzdasht (official docket) of the Minister from the table (it was in the handwriting of Moulvi Mushtak Hussain), and gave it to me. It was to the effect that a case should be instituted against me, Server Jung.

His Highness told me not to be afraid, and to write down without hesitation what I knew of the matter.

He then asked me to hear what he had to say.

Moulvi Mushtak Hussain and Mehdi Hussain and the Resident had unnecessarily lowered him in the eyes of the public, and, for the sake of a trifle of a diamond, had forced him to give his deposition without any advantage, as the case was still going on. His Highness added that the shock of it had reduced him to that condition.

I humbly suggested that if he commanded, I, his devoted servant, would get the case concluded. Yakub Beg Subanji was then in Hyderabad, and I would bring him over and make him fall at the feet of His Highness in order that he might be pardoned, and then send the diamond to the safe custody of his Treasury. This would spring a surprise on those who wished to prolong the case.

His Highness said, " Do what you can quickly."

Accordingly I acted as above, and the matter ended.

Now the other case began, which not only destroyed the present ministry, but changed the policy of the British Government as well.

In the past during the reign of Nawab Asaf Jah Bahadur, I suspect that Prime Minister was merely a clerk of the Sovereign, who kept himself fully engaged with the administration of the State ; but gradually the Minister was granted executive powers. Mir Alum* a recent arrival from Persia, was a far-sighted statesman. He cut himself adrift from the French, and began to cultivate the friendship of the British, with whom he entered into treaties with perfect equality. Raja Chandoo Lal, who was then working as the Minister's Assistant, was also a shrewd and clever man, and having made the Minister the queen of the chess-board, he then replaced him in the favours of the Sovereign for, although he continued to bear the title of the Peshkar, he had in fact taken into his hands the whole administrative machinery.

Apart from the subsidiary force which, under the treaty, was stationed in Bolarum, the " Contingent " came into existence at Secunderabad. For the payment and upkeep of this force, Berars† was handed over to the

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*14th Rabusani, 1082 H. Died 4th Rabusani, 1161 H. Reigned 1133 H. Prime Minister 4th Rabusani, 1219 H.

†*Berars.*—The final act in a long official controversy, which had for its object the permanent retention of the Berars by the Government of India, can be described as follows: Twenty years after Lord Ripon's visit, another Viceregal visit was paid to Hyderabad, and the Nizam was pressed by Lord Curzon, at the close of an entertainment at the palace, to accord him a perpetual lease of the provinces for the Indian Government, and the Nizam, in deference to his guest, verbally consented. In the morning, however, he would have recalled his promise, and it was only on compulsion that he signed the treaty laid before him as a binding document by the Resident. The form of a lease was chosen to evade Lord Ripon's

British, who then made the Raja a medium of correspondence between the two Governments, which meant that the Resident, in important matters, personally presented the Viceroy's " Kharetta," written in Persian and addressed to the Ruler, in open Durbar, and in all other matters corresponded with the Dewan ; and the Dewan, in his turn, if he considered any matter of great importance, would, either through his Vakil or occasionally by himself report the same to His Highness—or else he acted independently according to the exigencies of the moment.

Raja Chandoo Lal, attained such power and influence that even the city came to be called " Chandoo Lal's Hyderabad."

These conditions prevailed up to the time of His Highness Secunder Jah* ; and the British Government also acted on the policy of making the Dewan responsible for the maintenance of peace and order of the State. H.H. Nasir-ud-dowlah,† however, took interest in administrative matters, but the powers of the Dewan continued to be maintained as before, and the policy of the British Government gained increasing strength ; and when, during the régime of H.H. Afzul-ud-dowlah‡, Mir Turab Ali Khan Salar Jung Shuja-ud-dowlah Mukhtar-ul-Mulk, a truly loyal and far-sighted man, became in 1264 H., the Dewan, the British Government still strongly maintained their policy. After H.H. Afzul-ud-dowlah's death, the Council of Regency was established, and the Minister and Nawab Amir-i-Kabir Omdut-ul-Mulk were respectively Regent and Co-regent. During this period British policy assumed, as it were permanency, this being partly due to the course followed by Nawab Omdut-ul-Mulk, who treated the Minister as his own son, and left him to manage

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honest assurances at the time of the Installation, and there are many precedents for the subterfuge. The Nizam, it is rumoured, refused for four days to take food after this occurrence. The establishment of the Subsidiary force and the handing over and the retention of the Berars, is too well-known a matter to be given " in extenso," and later developments are of so recent a date that they need not be dilated upon.

*Born 1st Rajab, 1182 H. Reigned 1218 H. Died 17th Zikhad, 1224 H.

†24th Zikhad, 1144. Died 22nd Ramzan, 1212 H.

‡Born 30th Rabusani, 1243 H. Reigned 24th Ramzan, 1273 H. Died 13th Zikhad, 1285.

the whole administration without interference on his part—though the Minister, in consideration of the Nawab's elderly position, kept him informed of all matters—and partly to the personality of the Minister himself, who was well-versed in political science, and in the art of diplomacy equal to European Statesmen. At any rate, the principle that came to be followed was this, that the Prime Minister was responsible for the maintenance of peace and order in the State, while the Ruler's signature was in important matters taken as a formality. The latter's signature was in other matters dispensed with, an entry made in the "Siahah" (Register) of the Palace being considered sufficient.

Nawab Laik Ali Khan, who was in high favour with the Sovereign enjoyed greater powers than his father, and the Ministers who followed him also coveted to govern despotically. This form of Government according even to Sir Richard Meade, was against all principles of Sovereignty, but at the time of Sir Salar Jung, it was not only necessary on grounds of political exigency but also essential for the maintenance of peace within the dominions.

A conversation that I had with Sir Richard Meade will prove interesting to the readers. For some reason or another, Dame Rumour had it that Sir Salar Jung wanted his daughter, who was noted for her beauty, to marry His Highness, and that "conversations" had proceeded through Tahniyat Yavar-ud-dowlah with the grand-mother of His Highness. Sir Salar Jung was, indeed, expecting to be asked for the hand of his daughter, when, quite by chance, the times of Sir Richard Meade and Amir-i-Kabir Rashnid-ud-din Khan intervened, and these proved a period of so much anxiety for the Minister that he almost wished himself dead.

I called on Sir Richard, as was customary with me, and he asked me what I knew of this talk of marriage. I said on the spur of the moment that it would do no harm. Sir Richard was put out, and asked me whether any Nizam was married at His Highness's present age. I replied, that if the event came off during his tenure of office he would gain in reputation.

He then declared that Sir Salar Jung, who was already "de facto" ruler would become "de jure" Sovereign as well, and said, " Do you want him to be the Nizam ? " To that I replied that being a subordinate official, I and my wishes did not count.

Then he began to deliver a lecture, and said that Salar Jung had brought the State to the verge of destruction, and filled it with Purdasis, Hindustanis, and Madrassis and Parsis, and that the city people, on whom the prosperity of the State rested, were all getting worried and ruined ; and he declared that the statements of Shapurji and Amir-i-Kabir with regard to this were correct. He also said that the real fact was, that the Mussulmans had never possessed capacity either to rule or to reign—nor was there any hope for them in the future. They ruled for two or three centuries and then their dominion was destroyed.

His general and sweeping remarks made my vein of self-respect flutter, and asking whether any State in Europe could be said to have existed a thousand or two thousand years, I drew his attention to the Koran's injunction. I then said that, if he did not take it ill, and would pardon my impertinence, I would explain the question in a few short sentences.

The early European historians, I stated, never understood Islamic principles of Government. Those who followed, however, had to some extent acquired knowledge of them, and profited by that knowledge. But then, on the other hand, the Islamic nations becoming involved in internecine wars, began to lose touch not only with the art of Government, but also with other arts and sciences. But why, I asked, should Islamic principles be blamed ?

Sir Richard laughed, and sarcastically asked me what that principle was.

I replied that the argument was lengthy, but that I would illustrate my meaning by referring to an historical incident mentioned by the French jeweller Tavernier, as having occurred while he was travelling through India. He wrote that when he reached Surat he was surrounded by the customs' officials, who, making an inventory of his belongings and giving the list to him, then took possession of his things. He raised objections to this, but they assured him that his things were not confiscated, but that he would be saved from the further trouble of guarding them ; and that he had only to show the inventory, and the customs' officials of any town at which he did so, would hand his things to him. But he was not satisfied with this, and said that he did not know what the Government might charge for freight, and that being a poor man, he would like to have his things with him, so that he might sell them at whatever price he believed profitable. They replied that all his things would be taken to Delhi at the Government expense, and would be given to him anywhere he wished—he had only to show the inventory to the officials concerned,—while he was free to go about unencumbered and enjoy himself on the way.

I said to Sir Richard that, although his Government had started a system of insurance, the people whether rich or poor had yet to pay a certain percentage on the value, to enjoy the same privilege. And they also had to pay numerous taxes and other cesses. The Islamic and the British principles differed I ended, and Europe's knowledge of the principle on which the Islamic Commonwealth was based was still imperfect.

> "The rose prides itself on its beauty in the garden, O Zowk, because it has not seen the beauty of others."

But Sir Richard still continued to criticize Salar Jung. As the maxim goes, "The tail of a dog can never get rid of its curve." Among other things, he said that Sir Salar Jung was so fond of power, that he did not desire His Highness to take the administration into his own hands. To that I replied the policy of the Government was to blame; but Sir Richard controverted my statement, and said that it was so because the Nizam had no natural aptitude to govern. And he asked why our youthful Nizam was not given the necessary training and education.

I, however, suggested that his criticism would not apply to His Highness Secunder Jah and His Highness Nasir-ud-dowlah, and I pointed out how during the régime of H.H. Afzul-ud-dowlah, the "budmashes" created a scene between the Ruler and the Minister; but, I said, under an Islamic Government the Desi and the Pardesi, the Mulki and the Ghair Mulki, were meaningless terms. If a man were a Muslim he was a brother in Islam; if a non-Muslim he enjoyed the rights of a "Zimmi" (protected subject). It did not matter to what country or nation he belonged.

I left Sir Richard and came out. I saw Lady Meade in the drawing-room and had to stop and sit with her for a while. Her maiden name was Miss Malcolm, and she was the lady whom the late Minister's uncle (who was also his stepfather) had wished him, the late Minister, to marry.

Lady Meade also began to complain of the Minister's conduct and said that when Amir-i-Kabir visited them, he left his retainers outside the gate, while Salar Jung did not do so, and she suffered headaches from the tom-tom and the other noises made by his men.

Now I return to my story. When Sir Asman Jah was honoured with the portfolio of the Prime Minister, he like his predecessors coveted to rule in a despotic manner. But he was not a well-read man, and was by nature, very reticent. He was, however, exceedingly dignified, and, with the exception of his favourites, no one, whether officials or non-officials could take the liberty to speak in his presence in an off-hand manner. He strictly observed the rules and ceremonies in vogue at the durbars during the time of Omdut-ul-Mulk and Sir Salar Jung, of which he had personal knowledge. His ancestors always wore their distinctive turban, whether in private or in public, but he, after his return from England, began to wear a single round cap, either of silk or other cloth, with the Sherwani.

After the death of Nawab Laik Ali Khan as luck would have it the State had a succession of Ministers who, owing to lack of experience and training, became chess queens in the hands of their Secretaries, to be moved about on the board at pleasure, the administration being entirely left to the Secretaries. In this connexion, Sir Asman Jah possessed one good quality, namely, that with the exception of those men whom I call lesser Ministers, he would not permit other Secretaries and officials to interfere. Besides, he was thoroughly loyal and truly self-sacrificing to His Highness, as compared with other noblemen.—Hyderabad had acquired a bad reputation for intrigue, but these noblemen took no part in it. They were dull-witted and simple men, who, even in their household matters and daily life, were in need of the advice of others.

These lesser ministers, drunk with power, worried His

Highness in the diamond case to such an extent, that he became suspicious and displeased with his guiltless Minister. But they raised up a comparatively strong opposition composed of men as astute, clever and unscrupulous as themselves—men who made no distinction between right and wrong. These gentlemen were instrumental in getting up a very disgraceful and immoral case, and then, holding themselves aloof, began to watch the fun. The trite saying, " Striking a match and throwing it on a thatched roof, and then viewing the scene from a distance," well describes their action. They dragged me too into it, even though I led a retired life.

In those days I possessed a big family, and had only my salary to fall back upon, for whatever my patron, the Minister (Sir Salar Jung the First), had given me in consideration of my services, I had spent on my house ; and these gentlemen did not even express their sympathy.

In fact with the fan of intrigue they raised up a conflagration. I was placed in the greater difficulty, because, having given my written statement and mentioned my knowledge of facts, I had to prove every word of it, to clear myself. But, to my good luck, my apt pupil—an Amir born of an Amir Nawab Sarfaraz Hussan Khan Fakhr-ul-Mulk Bahadur, in consideration of my services and loyalty to the State, came to my aid, and that without any idea of personal gain.

The case (21st July, 1892) began in this way. Since His Highness had objected to any steps being taken against me, they brought one against the author, the Bengali Mitra, then, with Mr. Bosanquet, the first Assistant Resident, appointed the presiding judge, Colonel Dobbs, Mr. Templeton, and others, who were against the present ministry, engaged Mr. Norton, of Madras, and Mr. Edgelow a solicitor of Bombay, on behalf of Mitra. It is not known who sent for these gentlemen. The suspicion was that those in the intrigue took the responsibility of bearing the expenses, and then, when my name was mixed up in the case, they slipped away, as if they had no concern whatever with it. Mr. Edgelow and Mr. Norton then came to me. I told them I had not the means to pay their fees and to shoulder the whole burden of the case, and that it was only possible for me to pay them a little from time to time, while promising that, after the conclusion of the case, I would recommend them if possible, to the generosity of the State ; and that if they consented to these conditions, they should attend the Court on behalf of Mitra. And these two brillliant and clever men, accepted the conditions.

Fatteh Nawaz Jung immediately left for Lucknow, in order to use his Hyderabad influence and prestige to win over the well-to-do and influential people of Lucknow to give evidence according to his wishes. It would not have been surprising if the Lucknow people had done so, and fallen victims to his inducements of future benefits.

Messrs. Norton and Edgclow also advised me that the real issue ought to be fought out in Lucknow, and for that reason they wished to be allowed to go there ; and it was while I was thrown into anxiety over how to meet this great expenditure, that Nawab Fakar-ul-Mulk Bahadur recognising my helplessness, came to my rescue.

I may say that His Highness had also intended to help me, but on the advice of Mr. Palmer, I did not consider it expedient or advisable to involve His Highness's name in the filthy case.

I let my brother, Mirza Sajjid Beg, accompany Mr. Norton to Lucknow, where the case was heard and it was conducted by Mr. Norton in such a sensational manner, that I have heard that a book like a novel was written by some person who possessed a humorous turn of mind.

To be brief, Fatteh Nawaz Jung was decisively beaten in Lucknow, and our men returned triumphantly bringing with them excellent evidence. When the time for tending the "defence evidence" arrived, I summoned two or three witnesses from Lucknow and produced them before the Court.

While this was going on, I called on Mr. Plowden. This was my first meeting with this clairvoyant Resident, whose policy was the cause of these proceedings. He received me courteously and after hearing my view of the case, sympathised with me and held out hopes of support. He appeared as if displeased with the Prime Minister, and especially with those whom we had been calling the lesser Ministers.

Now on the one hand the case proceeded merrily, and on the other, His Highness commanded me to remain at the palace both day and night ; and he entrusted to me all " Arzdasht " (correspondence) which from time to time reached him from the Minister, commanding me to criticize and check these communications properly. Henceforth the Royal commands began to be issued with critical circumspection ; and then, and then alone, I became aware that His Highness was resolved to take the administration into his own Royal hands. At the same time, Sir Khurshed Jah made ready to offer his advice, and Nawab Fakhr-ul-Mulk also came forward to help to put matters right.

It was now found necessary to frame the " Qanooncha Mubarak " (" The Auspicious Code ")* and the humble author was commanded to draw it up, so that, from the Prime Minister downwards, each official might discharge his duties intelligently, and conscious of the fact that his power had a limit which could not be overstepped. By this means it was thought to put an end to the intrigue, which had established itself since the death of Sir Salar Jung the First.

I am here reminded of a conversation I had with the latter. The fact was, that Raja Girdari Lall, alias Bansi Raja, who called himself the elder daughter-in-law of the State, and who concerned himself with all the affairs, opened a factory for the manufacture of small arms, and other implements, and after a great deal of search and painstaking engaged experts.

Now since the establishment of the British Raj, the Indians, whether Hindu or Muslim, had learnt the art of blackmailing and spying, which arts they practised in order to ingratiate themselves with the British officials, with the result that those who did not indulge in these practices could not rise from the post of a Tahsildar to that of a Deputy Collector. Such a condition of things was not so very harmful in British India, but it was very dangerous in the Native States, where not even the Ruling Chiefs were immune from its baneful effects. And so it happened that " informers " carried reports of this factory to Sir Richard Meade, and as a consequence the institution was closed down, while to the charge sheet against the Minister one more count was added.

When I visited His Excellency, he said, when our own men were so short-sighted and disloyal, what right had we to complain of the conduct of strangers? He added that it was laughable to think that the factory was worked to collect war materials to be used against the British Government. Could he, with such a small factory manage to manufacture sufficient material to fight a great Empire.

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* 1310 H. (1892 A.D.)

I suggested that the city people did not even know the road that led to the Residency, and possessed no aptitude for such dirty work—i.e., "informing"—and that some stranger from outside must have done it.

He replied that even outsiders were either servants of the State or were connected with the Residency. But were they, these outsiders separate from us in nationality or religion? Did we not share our advantages with them? But the misfortune was not ours only. If His Majesty of Persia got annoyed with anyone, he fled for protection to the Russian, German, French, or English Embassy; or if H.M. the Sultan of Turkey showed his displeasure, the men whether rich or poor, took shelter with the Foreign Ambassador. Such men possessed neither patriotism for their country nor love for their religion.—and these were the two qualities on which the progress of a nation was based.

He proceeded to say that although we and our conduct, dress and speech were good, that although the earth we walked upon, the sky under which we lived, and even the climate we enjoyed, were good, yet it was patriotism for one's nation and country that united one individual to another, and one group to another, and created unity of action and a sense of solidarity; while love for one's religion was a thing for which man was willing to sacrifice himself, his wealth, and his progeny.

He admitted that in our country men of various religions and communities, such as Christians, Jews, Hindus and Parsis, lived and worked, but it was possible he said to remain firm in one's religion, and yet be patriotic enough to settle differences between ourselves, so as to be safe from the interference of the foreigner.

I suggested that the education, character-building and enlightenment of the community lay in the hands of the officials, the nobles, and the well-to-do people.

His Excellency was agreeably surprised, and began to talk more confidingly to me. He said that that was the very ideal he was striving for, but that the road which he was perforce traversing led to far and distant results, and life was temporary and unreliable. He could not say what course his successor would pursue, but if he were to give vent to his desire, hidden as it was in his heart, and brought it into light, he would have, on the one hand, to face the powerful British lion and on the other, to contend against the nobles, who were pillars of the State, and equal to him in prestige and rank. He agreed that these were the men in whose hands lay the destiny of the nation, but, sunk in crass ignorance, and utterly oblivious of the duties and responsibilities of life, they led such selfish and pleasure-seeking lives, that they were not a good example to the people. They were the men who formed an opposition and stumbling-block in his path.

His Excellency added that he could conceive no remedy that would make these gentlemen see the folly of their ways, and so the one alternative left to him, was for him to carry out his desires when his Highness—whom God grant a long life !—took the administration into his own hands. But how could he say whether he would live to see that day ?

I quoted this couplet :—

> " If you attain what you are in search of, be it to thy credit ; but if you fail to achieve it, may thy efforts win approbation "

He replied that although he was exerting himself he felt that the education and enlightenment of the nation was beyond his powers and he therefore turned his attention to objects more attainable and obvious such as the reform of the police, the Revenue and Judicial Departments, and the organization and promotion of the revenues of the State for the maintenance of law and order.

I said that this was the work of a Karkoon (a secretary, a clerk), and was easy of attainment in these days, because the rules, regulations, law and procedure, enforced in the departments of British India could be copied ; while men of capacity and experience, from far and near, would flock to him, in the hope of receiving encouragement at his hands—men who could apply those rules with variations to suit local conditions. But I suggested that, His Excellency being a statesman, he would not, even if he gave all his time from morning till midnight, find leisure for such matters of policy as the education of the masses, the material prosperity of the ryots, the raising of the standard of living, and other civilizing influences. There was a vast difference between a " Karkoon " and a " Karferma " (statesman).

His Excellency agreed, and said that I had stolen the very ideas from the storehouse of his mind.

Then, continuing, he said that the reason for his creating assistant-ministerships, and appointing thereto noblemen like Bashir-ud-dowlah, Mukram-ud-dowlah, Shamsheer Jung, and Shahab Jung, was this, that these young noblemen should acquire experience in routine work, so that he might have leisure to attend to other duties.

His ambition was to frame a Constitution for the State which, based on our ancestral principles, but modified to suit present day conditions would be binding on our posterity.

But His Excellency thought there were several obstacles in the way. First, the Ruler was of tender age, and he the Minister, was merely his representative. If he were to frame a Constitution, and enforce it under his signature, how far and to what extent would it be binding on the subjects and the succeeding generations ? Secondly while he admitted that honest and well-intentioned men could be found to help him, they would be men either with experience only in the particular line they had worked on, or mere Moulvis, fit only to discuss theological questions. He added, that to search for and secure an all-round efficient man would require the lifetime of Noah and the patience of Job.

However, two important matters were before them ; first the framing of the Constitution for the progress and permanency of the State ; and secondly, the education of the masses, so as to make them patriotic and self-respecting. But these were like the fire-ordeals (Haft Khan) of Rustom—His Highness was the Rustom who could safely overcome them.

His Excellency said that it was not statesmanship to imitate what prevailed elsewhere, or to establish new and strange departments, or to make regulations for the transfer of officials and changes in the staff, and to reduce daily expenditure. He wanted men like Sir T. Mahdeva Rao or Sir Jung Bahadur,* who, far-sighted statesmen as they were, would never hurry things through, but would appreciate the principles on which their ancestors worked, while at the same time being perfectly aware of the demands of modern times.

He added that he did not require men who obtained high degrees from colleges and universities, or those who went to Europe and came back showering praise on foreign customs and institutions, and wishing to introduce the same without applicability or suitability to local conditions. Was it possible to dress a younger brother in the suit of the elder, without first putting the suit into shipshape order? You wanted an expert of Mahdeva Rao's calibre to cut and trim the suit of a man, men of Abul Fasl's and Todar Mull's capacity to make a new dress.

His Excellency then said that he would like to do many things, but what about the "purring" lion who sat across the river?

After his death I often made reference to the above conversation to Maharaja Narinder Pershad, but the Raja was not given time, and was soon disposed of by those who intrigued against him.

The same was the case with the late Minister's son, Nawab Laik Ali Kahn. He was like a fresh and blooming rose, with scent and colour, which the merciless men plucked and threw away.

In short the command was issued that I, according to the views of Sir Salar Jung I. and Raja Narinder Pershad, should prepare a draft of a constitution for His Highness's consideration; and accordingly the first portion of the

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* *Mahdeva Rao.*—After the death of Khande Rao, the Gaekwar of Baroda, whose loyalty to the British Government was conspicuous, the affairs of the State fell under mismanagement, which led to the deportation of the late Gaekwar, Malher Rao, and to his detention as a State prisoner. An adopted son was placed on the throne, with the Princess Jamna Bai as regent; and a very able Minister, one of the best in India, was appointed to conduct the administration which is accordingly prospering.—(*Vide* p. 71 of "India in 1880," by Sir Richard Temple, Bart.).

Raja Jung Bahadur of Nepal.—The State was for many years ruled by a soldier-statesman, Jung Bahadur, with a rod of iron.

"Quanoonacha Mubarak" received Royal sanction and was sent to the Press.

At that time a gentleman, who wished to be my assistant, introduced quite accidentally an ordinary sentence of legal phraseology without my knowledge. This sentence was like a patch of coarse cloth stitched on to a Cashmere shawl. As all the copies had been printed I humbly requested His Highness to pardon me for the mistake that had crept in. This is how the "Quanooncha Mubarak" came into existence.

Now there was only one difficulty that presented itself. After the death of Sir Salar Jung the First, the barn-yard of the Residency was taken possession by the fighting cocks (intriguers), and whoever first gained the Resident's ear won the game. Up till now the opposition had directed their efforts against the influence which the lesser ministers had acquired, but, after the "Quanooncha-Mubarak" came into force, their attention was directed towards me, and they began to conspire in secret, for they saw that if His Highness took the reins of Government into his own hand, and put an end to the despotic rule of the Minister, then their position on the chess-board would dwindle to that of pawns, and the influence and prestige which they had enjoyed from here right away to England, would be ruthlessly destroyed ; and this would be done, they believed, by me, Server Jung. They said to themselves, as the poet has it :—

> "We had no suspicion of this from a weak piece of straw."

Accordingly a few European officers who had got into service through the recommendation of these gentlemen, introduced themselves into the Council of their patrons, and some Englishmen who, not in the service, were in straitened circumstances and living on the generosity of these men, began to write lengthy articles to the "Pioneer," "Times of India," and other papers, while the Resident

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With him, discipline and order were the first objects, rather than equity and moderation. The former, however, having been permanently secured, gradually led to the introduction of the latter, until his régime became famed for its justice. In this instance the old native ways were followed, and no attempt was made to imitate the British model in civil affairs. (*Vide* p. 74 of "India in 1880," by Sir Richard Temple, Bart.).

was pressed to maintain the past policy of interference.

And again I was forced to think of my safety. As good luck would have it, Mr. Plowden had for some special reason in connexion with Mehdi Hussain's case, become favourable to me ; and so I first advised His Highness to obtain Mr. Plowden's opinion with regard to the framing of the "Quanooncha Mubarak," and then, although this gentleman had a vindictive nature, and had played his game in Baghdad and Kashmir, I suggested that, as he was here only for a few months in an officiating capacity, His Highness might bring him under his obligation by writing a letter to the Viceroy, asking the latter to let Mr. Plowden remain here till the completion of the "Quanooncha Mubarak."

His Highness approved of my humble suggestion, and for a few days the door of intrigue was kept tightly closed. Nevertheless, Mr. Plowden was influenced against me by what was carried to him by my opponents, which had its effect on me later on. For the present, when these gentlemen saw that their intrigue had no effect on me, they included Moulvi Mehdi Ali Khan, Mohsin-ul-Mulk, in their consultations, and he began to visit me more than it was usual for him ; seeing my house poorly furnished—no chandeliers, no tables, and no cosy couches and chairs—he expressed his regret and sympathy at my poverty in not being able to afford these things. At every interview he would refer to my impecunious condition, and to the fact of my possessing a large family, while at the same time, he would hold up Afsur Jung as a model, and set forth what a luxurious, comfortable life he was able to live.

However, one day, as I lay suffering from gout, and had not even the strength to turn myself on my bed, Mirza Gazanfar Ali Beg, who was Moulana's (Mohsin-ul-Mulk) confidant, came to me. At that time Mr. Palmer, the Barrister, was sitting close to me, but on the Mirza's saying that he wished to see me alone, Mr. Palmer withdrew. The Mirza then closed all the doors, and taking out a bundle wrapped in red cloth from his pocket, placed it before me.

I enquired what the matter was, why he had closed the doors and what that bundle meant. In reply, he asked me to open the bundle and see for myself.

Although I could not properly use my hand because of the pain, I opened the bundle and found that it contained a lot of currency notes tied together in small packets.

I was shocked, and looked at the Mirza, and then he stated that the Moulana sent his salaams (compliments) to me, and said that my foolishness exceeded all bounds. And having added that Sir Asman Jah was very sorry to hear of my straitened circumstances, the Mirza asked me not to consider this as a bribe, but only a friendly gift of money which he wished me to spend on my children's education. He then said that the Nawab Sahib did not wish me to do any work for him and that this was a disinterested gift. They and the Nawab Sahib, myself included, he went on, were all loyal and devoted servants of His Highness, and that if the course which I was pursuing was for the good of the State, then they were ready to assist and help me ; indeed, he suggested that the interest of all should be identical, that is, to serve the Ruler and the State loyally and well.

While he was delivering this lecture full of advice to me, I felt so shocked that my mind and brain refused to work, and in this helpless and worried state I laid myself flat on my back on the bed. Just then, by God's mercy, it suddenly occurred to me—it was as if I were inspired—that since a stranger had brought and handed these notes to me, their numbers must have been noted by several persons, and if I were now to return them, I should have no evidence of my having done so, whereas my friends would be in possession of proof to the contrary. I therefore asked the Mirza to count the notes.

He said there were 80 notes of Rs.1000 each, and he proceeded to count and show them to me. This done, he again put them back in the wrapper, and then placed them under my pillow. He then congratulated me, and said that, with me, with His Highness and the Moulana, with the Prime Minister, the work of administration would, with mutual co-operation, go on excellently.

I replied that he should convey my salaams to the Moulana, and tell him that though I had kept the money, I was not in the slightest degree obliged to him, and that he had put a stain on my lifelong service which it would be impossible for me to wash away. I then asked the

Mirza to go, and he left me, saying that the Moulana was right in placing my name first in the list of stupid fellows.

I now called in Mr. Palmer. He had brought some application, which I, however, sent to my office at once, and then told him of all that had passed. He turned pale and declared that I was done for, and that I could not possibly save myself. He said that I ought not to have touched the notes, but should have turned the messenger out of the house.

In reply to that I told him what I had planned to do, namely that as soon as I recovered from my painful condition, I would present these notes as "Nuzzer" to His Highness. Mr. Palmer agreed that my idea was excellent, but he warned me not to delay a single moment, and to go at once. Accordingly I ordered a "palki" (a palanquin), which was brought close to the steps. Mr. Palmer and my servants then lifted me from the bed and carried me to the head of the stairs, but there I fainted, and they were forced to lay me on the bed again.

Just then the telephone bell rang. Mr. Palmer answered the call, and Abid the Nizam's valet spoke from the other side, saying that His Highness commanded my presence for some urgent work at the palace. Mr. Palmer replied that Server Jung was just then lying unconscious, but that the moment he came to, he would be informed of the message. When I became conscious they informed me of His Highness's command, and I immediately telephoned that, if possible, I would attend on His Highness in the afternoon. I could not, however, go that day.

The next morning I thought to myself that death was preferable to living with the sword of Damocles hanging over my head, and that the disaster must at all costs be averted. To be brief, Misri Khan and others, lifting me bodily, placed me in the "palki" and then, when I reached the palace, I was placed on a chair and carried to His Highness's office-room in the Afzul Mahal Palace, my chair being placed close to his Highness's.

Just then His Highness entered the room, and seeing me in that pitiable condition, expressed his regret.

I said that I had something urgent to tell him, but that first I humbly solicited to know why His Highness had summoned me. His Highness said that a letter from

Mr. Plowden had come, intimating that he wished to attend the meetings of the Cabinet Council, so that he could fully explain to the Councillors how to carry on the work. His Highness continued that he had also spoken to him on the subject at the audience he had with him the other day.

I humbly suggested that that would be a dangerous innovation.

His Highness replied that he had already given him an oral promise.

I again respectfully pointed out that His Highness should consider the consequences that would follow this action. I submitted that Mr. Plowden would act as the chairman, and that not one of the Councillors possessed Laik Ali Khan's courage to differ from him, and he would attend at any time he chose. Who could then stop him? Besides, his inclusion would become a precedent for the other Residents to follow, and a general outcry against this introduction of British rule would result. After thinking for awhile His Highness said, " What you say is correct." Accordingly my advice among other things displeased Mr. Plowden.

Then I sent for my box and respectfully presented the bundle to His Highness. He asked what it was. I begged of its acceptance as my " Nuzzer," and requested him to open and see.

His Highness opened the parcel, and after counting the notes fixed his gaze on me. I then said that Sir Asman Jah the Prime Minister had given me Rs.80,000 in currency notes as a reward, and as I was not entitled to it, I took the liberty of presenting the same to His Highness.

His Highness's face reddened, and he commanded Abid to summon Asman Jah at once. I implored him earnestly not to do so, but for the present to accept my statement. I submitted that, as Sir Asman Jah was not only the Prime Minister of the day, but was also a noble of high rank and related to the Royal family, he would, to save his "izzat" (honour) think nothing of spending ten or twenty lakhs. Besides I was alone, and on the other side, there was a group of shrewd, clever and enterprising men, Sir Asman Jah would come to no harm, but I should be ruined.

His Highness then asked what should be done.

I submitted that this money was given to me for a specific purpose, that is, that I should try to find a " modus operandi " between His Highness and Sir Asman Jah, so that the latter, like his predecessors, could rule independently, and the enforcement of the "Quanooncha Mubarak " might remain in abeyance.

His Highness said that Sir Asman Jah's independence would mean the independence of the officials.

I replied there could be no doubt that since the death of Sir Salar Jung I. they had enjoyed unlimited power and great prestige, and I suggested that if His Highness wrote a letter in the usual manner to Sir Asman Jah, it would lead them to believe that I had begun to work in their favour, and the net which they had spread to catch me would enmesh them instead. I then pointed out that the move on the part of these gentlemen was to get what they desired, accomplished through me, and then bringing a charge of bribery, to ruin me completely. But if His Highness wrote the letter, and also sanctioned a few of their proposals, they would be taken unawares, and would be soon drowned in the well they had dug for me.

His Highness said that he could not now retain Sir Asman Jah in office.

I submitted that he was guiltless, and, that even if he were not it would do no harm if His Highness stayed his hand for a short while, as I proposed to take Mr. Plowden also into confidence.

His Highness said, " Yes, see what advice he gives."

I took my departure, and went direct to the Residency in my painful condition.

Mr. Plowden at the sight of me, also expressed his sorrow, and asked what had brought me to see him in that condition ; and I then reiterated the whole story to him.

He jumped out of his chair, and asked me whether I had kept the money. I replied that there was no alternative, but that I had given the money to His Highness. He then sat down satisfied, and said that it was necessary for him to report the matter to the foreign office, and that His Highness should likewise call on Sir Asman Jah for an explanation.

I suggested that if he did so a storm would be caused, and the work of the administration, which was in the hands of these men, might be brought to a standstill. I added that I conjectured that at an opportune moment they would, through some means or other, accuse me of bribery and then report to him, when he could call for my explanation, and these gentlemen would be caught in their own net. I then told him that His Highness would like to consult him, and that if he could attend at the palace on the next day, the matter would be discussed.

As I was conversing, Colonel Neville, the Commander of the Regular Troops, entered, and said that Moulvi Mehdi Ali had tried not only to win him over, but also through him, Mr. Edgelow and Mr. Norton. A big sum was named, but he, the Colonel had flatly refused.

On hearing this, Mr. Plowden could not contain himself, and exclaimed " By Jove, these men deserve to be hanged ! "

He then asked me to go and inform His Highness that the matter should be settled at the next day's interview.

I returned to the palace, in the same condition, and having informed His Highness of what had passed, wrote to Mr. Plowden for the suggested interview, and then returned home satisfied.

The next day His Highness and Mr. Plowden having consulted together agreed to observe silence for the present. His Highness wrote a letter in the manner suggested, and I sent it to the Prime Minister by a "chobdar."

Moulvi Mehdi Ali, who lived in semi-retirement, now became an adviser to the Prime Minister ; and the clique began to overwhelm me with all sorts of requests, with some of which I complied, in order to make these cunning men fully believe that I had accepted the proffered gift of money.

Then Fatteh Nawaz Jung, glad at the turn matters had taken, and believing himself quite safe, became impatient, and sprang a surprise (from his point of view) on Mr. Plowden, by writing a letter stating that Server Jung, had under duress, obtained a lakh of rupees from Sir Asman Jah. Thereupon Mr. Plowden wrote to His Highness and the Minister to call for Server Jung's explanation ; and he also asked for written statements from those who had a share in this disgraceful affair, and he wanted these to be sent to him.

Moulvi Mehdi Ali came to me in great anxiety, and advised me flatly to deny it. I replied that I was not so ungrateful as not to express my thanks openly to the Nawab Sahib, who gave me the money for the education of my boys. I remarked, moreover, that I wished to obtain the remaining 20,000 to make up the lakh.

He then said the blood of a Syed (meaning himself), would be on my head without any just cause, for he would take poison and go to sleep.

I replied that the Syeds from the time of Hazrat Ali (on whom be peace !) had suffered martyrdom and had been oppressed, and that this was, as it were, in his inheritance.

He then brought tears into his eyes, and said, " You are teasing me while my doom is threatening me " ; to which I returned, " Moulana, I will never deny it, but will write down the whole facts."

After him came Moulvi Mohamed Siddik, the leader of the party opposing Moulvi Mehdi Ali, and said that Nawab Vikar-ul-Umra had summoned me, and he wanted me to accompany him to the Nawab Sahib, where the Prime Minister would also be present.

I obtained permission from His Highness by telephone and went along with him. There a scene of dance and music was in progress. Groups of fairy-like figures flitted about, and coquettishly aimed " Cupid's arrows " at the hearts of the men who gathered round that gay and enticing entertainment ; and these beautiful forms were saying, as it were, in the words of the poet :

> " Come, that we may follow the example of the revolving sky,
> Taking the wine cups round, as is the wont of the heavens ;
> Leaving shame aside that we may embrace,
> Attached each to each, like the closely studded stars in the firmament."

Nawab Vikar-ul-Umra took me aside in a room and enquired how much money Moulvi Mehdi Ali had given me. I replied that he had not given me a penny, but that Mirza Gazanfar Ali Beg, who was the Mukhtar, agent of Shah Abdur Rahim, gave me on behalf of Nawab Sir Asman Jah, Rs.80,000 in currency notes of 1000 each.

At this Moulvi Mohamed Siddik laughed aloud, and said that the Moulana had taken the remaining Rs.20,000 for himself. To that I said, that Nawab Sir Asman Jah Bahadur's generosity was such that young and old alike were taking advantage of it, and if Moulvi Mehdi Ali profited to some extent, it should not occasion surprise ; but that I ought to get what I was entitled to, and if in the office of the Nawab Sahib a lakh of rupees was entered in my name, then I ought to get the remaining 20,000.

Nawab Vikar-ul-Umra then said, "We want to serve you in many ways—a lakh or 20,000 does not count."

Then Nawab Vikar-ul-Umra and Moulvi Mohamed Siddik came to the opinion that Rs.20,000 should be taken back from Moulvi Mehdi Ali and paid to me, on condition that, in reply to Mr. Plowden's questions, I made a flat denial, and did not allow the incident to proceed further.

I said that their advisers were responsible for protracting the matter, but that, while I had remained silent until then, as the secret was out now, I could not deny it. I asked them, however, to clear themselves as best they could.

I related this conversation to His Highness at a late audience, and he, saying that I should not worry myself, commanded me to write down all the facts. Stating that I already had them in writing, I submitted that the statements of all concerned should be placed before His Highness in the first instance, and that His Highness should then decide the matter himself. I added that the interference of Mr. Plowden in internal affairs was not only improper, but would be a bad precedent for the future.

Accordingly a command was issued to the Prime Minister, that he should place his statement, as well as the statements of other officials concerned, within a certain date, before His Highness, and that His Highness would take Mr. Plowden's friendly advice in the matter.

Now such a hue and cry was raised in the official circles, that all of them, with the exception of the astute Moulana Mehdi Ali Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk Bahadur, were at their wits' end with fright. But the Moulana was, as it were, a lion amongst them, and using his natural gift and intellectual subtlety, he wrote such a reply that, if the real facts had not come to the knowledge of His Highness and Mr. Plowden a few months before, I should have been compelled to hide my face for shame. His reply was, in short, this: that it had been customary from time immemorial for the noblemen to honour those who attended on the person of the Ruler, with rewards and presents so that they might remain immune from abuse and blackmail. Further, that apart from this, the attendants themselves expected to be thus rewarded, and the Ruler had no objection to such a procedure. Such rewards, therefore, could not be called bribery. Then, after a few more things stated in his defence, he said that Server Jung Bahadur was given the money in question according to this ancient usage.

Having written this reply, he brought it to me, together with Mr. Palmer, and said; "Now, my friend, withhold your hand, and do not shed the blood of a Syed." And adding that he had saved the Nawab Sahib and myself—the giver and the taker of the bribe—he alleged that this storm was raised by intriguers, who desired that by one stroke all of us might be destroyed, so that they might be free to enjoy the fruits of victory.

I read the reply over, and having praised the Moulana's gifts and wisdom, said, in the words of the poet:

"Confession is apparent from your denial."

I then told him that I was ready to inform him of the real facts, and that those were, that, when he sent the money, I, without delay, presented it to His Highness and also informed Mr. Plowden. I could not, therefore, rectify what had already been done, but I could promise him that, as far as lay in my power, I would try to save him, on condition that he, too, would write down what he knew, and would give up foolish platitudes.

He was at his wits' end when he heard this, and said "Oh, how we were taken in!—and you lulled us to sleep." He went on to declare that there was now no alternative for him but to go over to the side of the Nawab Sahib and oppose me.

Mr. Palmer tried to persuade him that since Server Jung had given him his promise, he should follow his advice; but, without making a reply, he rose anxiously and went away, and finally sent in the same written statement he had shown to me.

When all the statements were entered, His Highness summoned Mr. Plowden, and then, while I was acquitted, the Moulana* was ordered to leave the State as quickly as possible. At this Mehdi Hussain Fatteh Nawaz Jung left for Lucknow with his wife. Moulvi Mushtak Hussain was deported, and Sir Asman Jah, guiltless as he was, was relieved of his office.†

Thus, this affair brought about the end of Sir Asman's ministry, but a more pregnant result was that the British policy underwent a change.

I have referred earlier to the fact that during the time of Colonel Marshall a triumvirate was formed, who sent a letter, on behalf of His Highness, to the Viceroy, offering pecuniary assistance in connexion with the defence of the Afghan frontier, and that the British Government, instead of accepting cash, asked for the formation of an Imperial Service Force. Now, with the exception of the members of the triumvirate, only two persons, namely, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk Bahadur and Mr. Faridunji, were aware of this matter ; but as in the revolving firmament, so in human affairs, changes occur. So when Vikar-ul-Mulk Mushtak Hussan Khan Bahadur came into power, his first act was to send the Colonel whirling away in the train, while Sirdar Abdul Huq, who for years successfully opposed Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, was made to manage his hotel properties in Bombay.

Be that as it may, the formation of the Imperial Service force laid a great burden on the resources of the State, and the lesser Ministers turned their attention towards this matter, so as to save the State from heavy expenditure ; but instead of adopting a courageous attitude and achieving their purpose, they, in spite of the Government's importunity, procrastinated, so that the matter remained pending till Mr. Plowden took charge of the Residency and they fell from power.

The Government of India were indignant at this policy of procrastination, and in their last letter they wrote that " although you were the first mover in the formation of this force, and actually its founder, you have lagged behind while the other States have stepped forward and recruited their portion of the force. Therefore the Governor-General will himself visit Hyderabad and put an end to this delay."

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* 1st Mohurrum, 1311 H (1893).

† 7th Jamadi I., 1311 H. (1893 A.D.)

His Highness had not the slightest knowledge of this correspondence; but Mr. Plowden happened to speak to me on the subject, and he said that his friendly advice was that His Highness should decide the question quickly. " How long," he asked, " can you go on saying, we would like to maintain a force commensurate with the size and importance of the State, but at present our financial position is not such as to enable us to undertake the formation of this force ? " He continued that the Government of India, apart from the Home Government could no longer remain patient, and that Lord Lansdowne, whose visit was approaching, was coming here under a sense of displeasure; and it would therefore be desirable for His Highness to settle this matter before the Viceroy's arrival, and to designate the number of troops, large or small, as was thought fit for the purpose.

I said that His Highness had no knowledge of this matter at all, and that I would send for the file and put full information before him, and would then let Mr. Plowden know. Accordingly I did so.

His Highness then commanded me to summon Mr. Plowden for the next day, saying that he would settle the matter personally.

Mr. Plowden, when he came, advised His Highness to give them for the present 1600 horse, and requested him to write a letter to that effect to him. And he remarked that Server Jung had done a great service by informing His Highness of this matter, and that if he had not done so, he Mr. Plowden could not say what course Lord Lansdowne might have adopted.

The Resident having left, His Highness commanded me to draft the letter and despatch it to Mr. Plowden at once.

I was very much perplexed, and humbly submitted that the State was not in a position to bear the burden of providing 1600 horse; and, further, the force was to be trained and equipped by the British Government, and it would be raised on an imperial scale. Also we had the example of the Contingent* before us.

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* *Hyderabad Contingent.*—The territory of Berars—otherwise

His Highness replied that he had made the promise, and asked me to write the letter and place it before him.

I returned to my office sorrowful, and thought to myself that I stood to lose my reputation in the eyes of the public who would hold me responsible. I could not get to sleep that night, but then, as I lay bereft of hope, by God's help, through the intercession of my Pir, the context of the letter which I had to write, unfolded itself on the horizon of my mind. I at once got up and wrote it down, and I then enjoyed the sound sleep of the just.

The next morning I drafted the letter and placed it before His Highness, humbly suggesting that he should read every word of it. This he did, and said it was all right.

He was going to affix his signature, when I reminded him that it was merely a draft, and that I must get it "fair-copied," and I again humbly requested that His Highness should once more read it. He read it over, and said that everything was as he wished, and asked me to have it "fair-copied" and then take it myself to Mr. Plowden.

The copy made, I took it to Mr. Plowden. He read it and, asking me to convey his thanks to His Highness, said that he would despatch it that very day.

I replied that I wished him to read the letter once more, as the matter was of prime importance. Having read it again, Mr. Plowden stated that he was sure the Government of India would express their great thanks, and that Lord Lansdowne's displeasure would be changed into approbation. I returned home satisfied.

Soon after this Lord Lansdowne arrived. The usual arrangements were made for his entertainment, the details of which it is not necessary for me to repeat. The State dinner was held in the hall of "Kul Piran."

It was my habit that, though I would be present at the functions, I always kept aloof, and did not even sit at the dinner-table. I followed this course on this occasion

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known as the Assigned Districts—was made over to the British Administration in Lord Dalhousie's time, in order to defray the cost of the armed force called the Hyderabad Contingent. Since 1903 Berars has ceased to be a separate province, and has been leased in perpetuity to the British Government at an annual rental of 25 lakhs—a most important event in the history of the State! And from the same date, the Hyderabad Contingent lost its separate existence, it being redistributed and merged in the Indian Army.

also, and having spread my prayer-carpet on the platform of the Afzul Mahal Palace, I was busy saying my " Issha " prayers,* while there, in the hall the Viceroy delivered a long speech, and made a declaration of a departure in policy.

In the time of Sir Salar Jung I., he said, the Prime Minister, and the officials were considered responsible for the peace and order of the State and the Royal person of His Highness was worshipped from a distance ; but now he had to express his pleasure that His Highness was directing his personal attention to matters administrative, and was carrying out reforms, with the advice of the Resident.

The Viceroy's speech, in effect, shattered the independent action and the responsiblity of the officials in regard to administration.

After the function was over, His Highness, with a few of his attendants, quite happy and glad, came along to the Afzul Mahal. He saw me busy with my prayers, and without my knowledge, stood behind waiting for me to finish them.

When I raised my head from the " Sijdah," and moved it for the "salaam," I became aware of his presence. I at once stood up, and then His Highness and his companions congratulated me, and informed me gladly of the words, "freehand" used by the Viceroy in his speech.

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* *Prayer.*—The Muslim must say his prayers five times within the twenty-four hours, namely, at morning, noon, afternoon, magrib, and Issha (Subho, Zohur, Assur, Magrib and Issha). And on Fridays, which is his Sunday, he must, if he can, say his prayers in the Musjid, when the Kutba is read out by the Imam. On other days he may say them where he pleases.

Every prayer must begin with the first chapter of the Koran,—this is the grace to every prayer—which is thus : " Thee do we worship and of Thee do we beg assistance. Direct us in the right path—in the path of those to whom Thou hast been gracious, and not of those against whom Thou art incensed, nor of those who go astray." This said, the person may put in any other chapters of the Koran—usually short ones—and begin the prescribed prostrations. The prayer ends with the Salaam, by turning the head first to the right and then to the left.

The saying of the Holy Prophet is " Die before you die, the sacrifice of man's will to the Will of God, as revealed in the Koran and manifested in creation, which is Islam itself." In daily prayers, the prayer-mat on which the man stands, signifies the grave ; the ruku (bowing) means submission to the Will of God as Sovereign of this world ; and Sijdah (prostration) is a figurative death, with surrender to our Lord as Monarch of the Day of Judgment.—(*Vide* " Islamic Culture.") Also *vide* Translation of the Al Koran, by Mr. Mohamed Ali, Preface page 186-21.

Now the question of a change in the Ministry only remained to be decided. All those difficulties and worries that were felt at the time of the dismissal of the Nawab Laik Ali Khan, were removed by this "freehand" policy, and with the road thus clear Mr. Plowden became pressing that His Highness should either give his confidence again to Sir Asman Jah or dismiss him, and he was of the opinion that any delay in the matter might be dangerous to the cause of good administration.

Accordingly His Highness commanded me that I should faithfully report on the character, capacity and ability of each nobleman of his durbar, according to my experience of them and without being swayed by any consideration of loyalty, love, or leniency whatever.

I therefore wrote down conscientiously what personal knowledge I had of each of them, and submitted what I had written to His Highness. I also humbly suggested that, although I had written what I knew, I could not express my opinion about the appointment of the Minister. The selection and appointment of the Dewan rested with his Royal wish and pleasure. I added that, with the exception of the Amir-i-Kabir, the rest of the nobles were of average ability, but that since the "Quanooncha Mubarak" was in force, this defect in education would do no harm, especially as all His Highness's subjects, both Hindu and Muslim, were thoroughly loyal and devoted to His Highness's person and throne. The agitation and intrigue that had so far beset the country was due more to the greed of power and ambition of the officials whose power the "Quenooncha Mubarak" had already effectually restricted and if necessary, His Highness could in the future still further curb their ambitious proclivities.

On my representing this to His Highness, he kept the question of the appointment of the Minister pending for so long, that the Prime Minister and other State officials were perplexed, and prepared to attack me again. A newspaper was started in Delhi, in the columns of which I was attacked, while long articles against me also appeared in the "Pioneer." At the same time the intriguers rushed to the Resident for protection, and one, Mr. Dunlop, an Anglo-Indian, and a servant of the State to boot, informed Mr. Plowden that I was an unknown man, neither possessing literary merit nor coming of a good family, and that I had enforced the " Quanooncha Mubarak " with the intention of curtailing the powers of the Minister, so that I could enjoy unhampered power myself. And he told Mr. Plowden that he would get a bad name, and that the State also would be brought into disrepute. Mr. Plowden was already displeased with me, because I had not only prevented his taking part in the Cabinet Council but had also, whenever he tried to step beyond the prescribed limits, prevented him from doing so. In short, all the officials unitedly and with one purpose directed their attack on me. Mr. Plowden, however, kept up appearances.

A big attack had already been made on me regarding bribery, to which reference has already been made, and now Mr. Seymour Keay, a member of the House of Commons, was instigated to attack me. He began to ask questions about me in the House of Commons, and then the Government of India were asked to send the papers concerned ; but he was so decisively defeated that he left me altogether. The question was also agitated in respectable English papers, and also without avail. The fact was that, apart from loading me with abuse, they could not fix any crime on me.

Having failed in other directions, they now had recourse to direct methods, and began to poison the mind of the Resident against me, making him believe that I was a selfish, ordinary bazaar man, who was fond of power, and stating that the nobles of the State did not like an unknown man like myself to carry influence with His Highness. They said, further, that I was so defective in education that, I should very soon cause harm to the State. However, since Mr. Plowden insisted on a change of Ministry, and as he wanted to take that work from me, he as I have said, kept up appearances with me. He wanted to get rid of Sir Asman Jah, as he had got rid of Moulvi Mushtak Hussan, Mehdi Hussan and Moulvi Mehdi Ali.

I informed His Highness of all these matters and submitted to him, since he had enforced the " Quanooncha " he should graciously permit me to retire, or else my state would be worse than that of Maharaja Narinder and Nawab Laik Ali Khan. His Highness guessed that I was feeling the delay which had occurred in the appointment of a new minister and he therefore declared that he would that very day issue orders. He was, however, doubtful whom to appoint after Sir Asman Jah.

I humbly submitted that the change in the Ministry would not benefit us, and that apart from this I considered Nawab Sir Asman Jah as guiltless. He was a simple-hearted noble, who, ignorant of the treachery of the world, acted on the opinion of his advisers. It was quite true that His Highness could in the twinkling of an eye, reduce him from a nobleman to a pauper, but the great nobles add brightness to the Royal Durbar, and enhance the dignity, prestige and power of the Sovereign. Further they form the strength and the protection of Kings, and princes and in the hour of need, are ready to sacrifice themselves; and in their destruction the power of the State not only is reduced, but entirely disappears. The King, as it were remains a Rustom, and the noblemen, in the name of the Rustom, solve great problems of the State.

I humbly said that at this juncture I would relate an incident that occurred during the tenure of office of Sir Richard Meade as Resident. Sir Salar Jung I requested me to speak to Sir Richard and courageously controvert his ideas, and His Excellency told me that I need not fear anyone—that while he was alive nobody could injure me. I replied that though I was not afraid of anybody, the position of a man adds dignity to his utterance, and that as I was only tutor to His Highness, what influence could I have with the Resident seeing that the matter in question was not one that was connected with His Highness's education. I said to His Excellency that it would be better if he spoke personally to the Resident. On this he said that the name of Rustom was better than Rustom himself.

The story concerning Rustom that His Excellency had in mind was this: One day Rustom was sleeping in the forest with his jewelled shield and sword lying near his head, when a peasant happening to pass that way, tried to take away the shield and sword, Rustom awoke, ran after the peasant and caught him, and then they struggled together for a long time, till at last the peasant threw Rustom on the ground. Rustom then thought to himself that, apart from his weapons, he had lost his honour as well. But after thinking for a while, he ran after the peasant and called aloud, " Stop ! . . . Rustom has come ! " And the unenlightened peasant hearing this, threw away the weapons and fled.

I now humbly suggested that if His Highness considered a change in the Ministry advisable, then his wish would be carried out.

He replied that Mr. Plowden was importunate about it, but that he invariably recommended Vikar-ul-Umra, while he, His Highness, preferred Asman Jah to him a thousand times.

I submitted that the matter depended on his will and pleasure ; and he then requested that I should speak to Mr. Plowden once more, before he did what he thought necessary.

I suggested that His Highness should give me a letter to Mr. Plowden, so that I could talk to him, or else no good result would accrue. Accordingly His Highness jotted down his thoughts, and asked me to draft a letter on those lines. The gist of the letter was this, that he had no hope that Vikar-ul-Umra would be of any good.

I took the letter and went to the Resident, and had a long conversation with him on the pros and cons of the question. Mr. Plowden said that Sir Asman Jah had committed a crime, and a criminal could not remain in office ; while on the contrary Vikar-ul-Umra was a young man of prepossessing appearance, and had already acquired experience in Sir Asman Jah's administration. Nawab Amir-i-Kabir he added, had become too old to carry the burden of office, and Fakhr-ul-Mulk was not equal in status to the Paigah noblemen.

To be brief, Mr. Plowden had an audience the next day, and Vikar-ul-Umra's good fortune carried the day.

His Highness commanded me to get a few conditions written by Nawab Vikar-ul-Umra, saying that only then would he be honoured with the " Khillat " of office* ; but that till then he would only work as though his position were a temporary one.

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* " *Khillat* " *of Office.*—A short note of Hyderabad Prime Ministers, from Sir Salar Jung I downwards, will be found interesting.

Accordingly I got these conditions written by Nawab Sir Vikar-ul-Umra, and he began to officiate as Prime Minister.

Even after this, His Highness continued for a long time to consider the question of the Nawab's permanency, but at last, on Mr. Plowden's insistence, and on my humble request, that he should either be made permanent or another selection made, so that the work of administration might not be interfered with. His Highness, much against his wish, conferred the Khillat of office on Sir Vikar-ul-Umra.

Now I again found an opportunity humbly to suggest that, since His Highness had taken the reins of government in his own hands, enforced the constitution so as to circumscribe the powers of the Diwan and the officials changed the Ministry as well, and, by the grace of God, succeeded in his aims, I might be allowed to retire for a few days to the comforts of my home, in order to save myself from further attacks.

His Highness vouchsafed no reply, but the next day he informed me that he had commanded Vikar-ul-Umra to issue a Mansab of Rs.700 (Naslan badi naslan) in perpetuity on me; he also commanded me to send him a list of the members of my family, so that they might also be be honoured with grants of Mansabs. But as to my request for retirement, he stated that he could not understand

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Nizam Mir Mahboob Ali Khan Bahadur succeeded on his father's death in 1869. Being only 3 years old, a regency was constituted for the administration of the country, with Sir Salar Jung I as regent and Nawab Shams-ul-Umara as Co-regent, the Resident being consulted on all important matters concerning the welfare of the State. On the death of the Co-regent in 1877, his half-brother, Nawab Vikar-ul-Umara was appointed Co-administrator; in 1881, Sir Salar Jung remained sole administrator and regent till his death in 1883. In 1884 His Highness, having attained his majority, was installed by Lord Ripon. Then Sir Salar Jung II was appointed Minister, and was followed in 1888 by Sir Asman Jah. In 1892, a code, known as the " Khanunchai Mobarack " (" the auspicious code ") was issued for the guidance of the Minister, and this was followed by the establishment of a Council composed of all Ministers of the State. In the following year Sir Vikar-ul-Umra became Minister; and Maharaja Sir Kishen Pershad Bahadur was appointed Minister in 1901.

its object, and he expressed a wish that I should wait a while till he had had an opportunity to see how Vikar-ul-Umra conducted himself.

Nawab Vikar-ul-Umra was a man of regal tastes, very generous, and like his father, the Amir-i-Kabir Rashid-ud-din Khan, ambitious, but he had no natural aptitude for administration. He was, therefore, easily led, and was very soon enmeshed in the net of machination cunningly spread by the gifted officials, and the situation became worse than it was in the time of Sir Asman Jah.

The officials whose powers were curtailed by the "Quanooncha Mubarak," became impatient to burst through the bonds prescribed by it so that they might again enjoy the fruits of their power and ambition, and, therefore, as my existence was an obstacle in their way, they assured Nawab Vikar-ul-Umra that so long as I remained in office, he would be a Minister only in name. My claws must be clipped they said, and I got out of the way.

On the other hand, I foolishly made up my mind to see that the provisions of the "Quanooncha Mubarak" were carried out, and to this end, I compelled those responsible for the administration to the strict observance of the same ; and if anyone of those persons overstepped the limit, I would inform His Highness and restrain him. I, of course, understood that by this strict supervision I was injuring myself, and that was why I was waiting for an opportunity to save myself from disaster, and retire to the shelter of my house, for with the exception of the public the whole group which formed the Ministry had become my deadly enemies. Suffice it to say that they turned their combined attention and united efforts towards me, and I fearlessly awaited political death. Accordingly the day of my martyrdom drew near—and I beg leave to read this couplet :—

"O Hazik, do not be sorrowful because the day of
your martyrdom is nigh !
What need for camphor for one who made his
sacrifice for love and loyalty ? "

The first to open the attack against me was Mr. Plowden. The truth was, that, from his point of view, he was entitled to make such attacks, because he wished to interfere in every matter, and I prevented him from doing so. I would here give a few instances.

For one thing, I had as already mentioned, prevented his interfering in the Cabinet Council, and he had felt that keenly, and harboured a grudge against me.

Another case was this. The Kotwal, as a proof of his loyalty and zeal in his work, had started a strange case, with a view to curry favour with Mr. Plowden. At this time a very learned man, but verging on madness and in straitened circumstances, came to live in Hyderabad. His name was Jawad Hussain, and he belonged to Bhopal. He was looked upon with respect for his great erudition, by all influential officials of the State, like Moulvi Mehdi Ali and others and they used to help him with cash and other presents. This half-cracked Moulvi also used to visit me, when he would express his devotion to Islam with great recklessness, as if the angel Gabriel ran alongside his stirrups, and other angels from God served him ; and apart from his other qualities, he laid claim to soldierly accomplishments, such as archery and horsemanship.

Moulvi Mehdi Ali got him from somewhere a large amount of money—much more than he deserved—and with this he bought a horse, a bow and arrows,* and a sword. One day when he was returning from Secunderabad on his horse, and Colonel Neville was coming from the opposite direction, they both met on the Tank Bund. Colonel Neville asked him in the ordinary manner to get aside, but he would not do so, and said " Kaffir, are you a donkey, that you call upon a Muslim to get aside ? " And he raised his whip at the Colonel. The latter who was an enlightened man, then turned his carriage aside and passed on, and the man galloping along reached his house and there began quite openly to speak of his bravery and to exult in his proficiency in arms.

Shortly afterwards the Kotwal got him invited to a friend's house, and had a few of his detectives in the room. After the meal was over the Kotwal's friend began to converse with Jawad Hussain, and the latter unhesitatingly gave expression to his views, and began to kill " kaffirs " with his imaginary bow and arrows, with the result that the next day the Kotal reported to His Highness that a fanatic, favoured by Moulvi Mehdi Ali, intended attacks on his person and on the Resident and Server Jung, and that he had therefore had him arrested.

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* *Bows and arrows.*—These are now rarely seen, except possibly in remote parts of Rajputana. A body of archers helped to hold the Shah Najaf building at Lucknow, against Sir Colin Campbell, in 1858.

Following on this, the Resident, without loss of time, wrote to the Minister to institute a case against this fanatic, and also pressed the matter on His Highness at the audience he had with him.

When I saw Mr. Plowden taking such interest in the case, I became alert, and began to think that the Kotwal's action could only be attributed to the following three reasons: first, his attention might be to attack Moulvi Mehdi Ali ; secondly, he might want to please the Resident by giving proof of his smartness and activity—that he had saved his life ; and thirdly, that he was working under some special hint from the Resident. So I humbly submitted to His Highness that the case, with whatever purpose it was started was not one that could go on, because I suspected that Mr. Plowden's intentions were far from good, and because a situation similar to that of Oudh in the time of Mr. Hailey and others, might be created. Besides this was a Muslim State, and since the Christian nations, gave the appellation of fanatics to the Muslims there was danger lest the State might became known as the hot-bed of fanaticism.

His Highness said that Mr. Plowden was pressing the matter, in reply to which I humbly submitted that if His Highness were seriously to warn him once, he would cease to do so.

His Highness graciously reminded me that the proverb of the name of Rustom being more potent than Rustom himself, and asked why Vikar-ul-Umra did not, on his behalf, explain matters to the Resident.

I submitted that Nawab Vikar-ul-Umra, although loyal to the State, did not understand how to represent matters.

His Highness laughed, and then said, that since I knew the case, I should talk it over with Mr. Plowden.

I humbly suggested that this was not necessary, because Mr. Plowden had adopted a definite course of action ; and I begged that His Highness might give me a written order to send for the file of the case and place it before him.

His Highness agreed to this, and accordingly I called for the file.

But Nawab Vikar-ul-Umra took it as an insult, and Mr. Plowden, on the representation of the Kotwal, drew his sword of displeasure and made ready to strike at me. I, however, remained firm on the advice of my Pir Murshid, that if the intention was good the result would also be good, and so I wrote to Mr. Plowden that, according to his request, Jawad Hussain would be prosecuted, but since it was not such a matter as to go to the ordinary courts, a special commission would be appointed to enquire into the case, and after that was done, His Highness and he would pass final orders.

Now controversy raged round the question as to who should be selected to preside on the commission. Finally, Moulvi Nizam-ud-din Hassan and Moulvi Yasin Khan were appointed, the former on behalf of His Highness, and the latter—on a hint from the Resident—to represent the Minister. They were both honest and good men, with the difference that Moulvi Nizam-ud-din Hassan was a qualified man in law and a graduate in arts. He was taken from the British Service and appointed a judge of the High Court either by Nawab Laik Ali Khan or his father, on payment of contribution. On the other hand, Moulvi Yasin Khan, who belonged to Jaora, possessed no such qualifications. He had held high appointment in Berar, through family influence, and, on the recommendation of the Resident, was translated from there to the High Court.

To be brief, the case was started with a great flourish, but, as there was nothing in it, it ended dismally. The Resident, however, pressingly wrote that the man should be sent out of the State.*

Moulvi Mehdi Ali visited me quite happy and glad in the thought that the poor fellow, cracked as he was, escaped with his life, and he expressed his thanks to me. Mr. Plowden, however, became my enemy.

Likewise I came into trouble again about the question of the appointment of a commander to the Imperial

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* 15th Shaban, 1311 H. (1894 A.D.)

Service Force. His Highness, for some reason, was taking time to form his Royal opinion in this matter, and at last Mr. Plowden spoke to me on the subject, and said that the formation of the Regiment was being delayed, and, therefore, a British officer was coming here to see to it. He added that he understood that His Highness would nominate Afsur Jung to the post, and he requested me to inform him quickly about His Highness's wishes in the matter.

I accordingly informed His Highness, and the result was that Mr. Plowden's recommendation was accepted, and Afsur Jung Bahadur was made commander of the Force.

Captain Miller now arrived, on behalf of the British Government, and the Minister was made to pass orders that, since 800 horse were not enough to form a regiment, another 200 should be added to bring up the strength of the regiment for the present to a thousand, and further, that accoutrements of the best English manufacture, together with the full complement of other requirements, such as tents, mules, etc., should with the greatest possible expedition be made over to the Commander.

A letter from Mr. Plowden concerning these matters, was sent for the information of His Highness. He was surprised at the letter, and also at the above-mentioned orders, which were issued without his permission and he commanded that they should at once be cancelled.

This offence was also attributed to me, although I was not aware of the step till His Highness handed to me the petition of the Minister and the Resident's letter which arrived after His Highness had passed the cancelling Firman.

To be hostile to Imperial Policy verges on rebellion—who would be so foolhardy or unfortunate as to oppose the wishes of the Government? On the contrary, by supporting them, one stands to receive titles and other honours; and if his Sovereign gets displeased with him, from the Resident to the Foreign Office, they come forward to save him! Take the case of Nawab Fiaz Mohamed Khan, the Minister of Jaipur. He was not only honoured with titles and jagirs, but he was actually appointed to govern the Rajput States, and to this day the nominal Ministry of Jaipur remains in his family.

Accordingly Mr. Plowden addressed me thus:—"Server Jung, remember that your future prosperity rests with me. If you listen to me, then rewards and titles are yours, otherwise, with one stroke of my pen, your name and reputation will be obliterated."

I replied "Mr. Plowden, I have kept my destiny in my hands. I am not proud of my present post, but I take pride in being the one tutor of His Highness in whose hands his education started and came to a finish. Am I not entitled to boast that my Royal Master, while appreciating my honesty and my loyalty, confides in me." I reminded him that for services rendered by my family in the Sikh War and the Indian Mutiny the Government, in appreciation of our loyalty, bestowed the State of Badaygaon, in Sitapur, on my uncle Mirza Abbas Baig.

On the other hand Mr. Hormusji, Mr. Faridunji, and other influential men came to me on behalf of the Minister to explain matters, the explanation being that the Minister thought that my policy was wrong and harmful to everyone concerned. They said that when we have promised 1600 horse, then any breach of promise would be harmful.

They enticed me to Faluknuma, and brought me face to face with the British officer, the Minister himself, with Major Gough, Mr. Hormusji, and others being also present. What passed at the meeting it is unnecessary to relate, but after I had come away, Mr. Plowden wrote to His Highness, saying that as he had promised 1600 horse, and they were now only asking for 1,000, why should these be refused.

I produced the signed draft of the original letter, and humbly submitted that His Highness had only given 800 horse, while requesting him to note that the offer was plainly written in these words:—

> "I give now 800 horse, and, if necessity arises, the remainder will also be given."

And I humbly reminded him that at the time I had requested that the letter be read several times, that His Highness had approved of it, and also that I had made Mr. Plowden read it repeatedly. Was I to be blamed if the word "if" had escaped the attention of men from here to the Foreign Office.

After this I made Mr. Plowden read the draft himself. He was taken by surprise, and said, "Server Jung, your contention is right, but we have been taken in!"

What could I do now, and what reply could I make to this officer? I suggested that at this time it was impossible to give more than 800 horse.

I came away and then the question arose as to where these troops should be stationed. Afsur Jung Bahadur suggested Golconda and the maidan facing it. But I submitted to His Highness that the "Fort of Golconda" possessed a special importance in our Dominions, and was an historic place,* and as nobody could say what would be the result of this Force eventually, or who, after Afsur Jung Bahadur, would be the Commander; the Fort at any time, and in unforeseen circumstances, might be lost to us. Therefore the force should be stationed far away from the city.

His Highness approved of this opinion and another count was added to the list of my crimes.

On another occasion the Governor of Madras, or some distinguished guest had arrived at the Residency, and when His Highness went there to return his call, as was customary, Mr. Plowden did not come out to receive him.

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* *Golconda.*—Fortress and ruined city in the Atrafe Balda District, situated 17°23′ N. and 78°24′ E., five miles west of Hyderabad City. The fort was originally constructed by the Raja of Warangal, who ceded it in 1364, together with its dependencies, to Mahomed Shah Bahmani of Gulburgah. For a time it was known as Mahomednagar.

In 1512 the place passed from the Bahmanis to the Kutb-Shahis, who had their Capital here till the foundation of Hyderabad. In 1677 the City was taken by Aurungzeb, after a siege of eight months, and Abul Hassan, the last of the Kutb-Shahi Kings, was deported to Daulatabad.

It is surrounded by a strong crenellated stone wall, over three miles in circumference, with 87 Bastions at the angles, some of which still contain large pieces of ordinance bearing Persian inscriptions.

Inside the walls are ruins of numerous palaces, mosques, and dwellings, while the citadel or Bala Hissar is in good preservation. There are eight gates to the fort, of which four are now in use. The moat which surrounds the fort is choked with rubbish in most places.

About half a mile to the north of the fort, are the beautiful tombs of the Kutb-Shahi Kings.—(Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series, Hyderabad State—page 114).

His Highness felt it very much, and I, like a fool, immediately called for an explanation.

On the occasion when His Highness and Mr. Plowden went to Raja Deen Dayal's to be photographed, the photographer placed a higher chair for His Highness and a lower one for Mr. Plowden. At the time the latter kept quiet, but later, sending for the photographer, he gave it to him hot, and ordered that those photographs should not be delivered. After some time, His Highness said that Raja Deen Dayal had not sent the photographs, and asked me to get them; and then the Raja besought my help, saying that Mr. Plowden would ruin him. I gave him a written order and got the photographs. A strange discussion took place, and I got over it with difficulty.

There was also some trouble about the Berars, as the result of which we obtained 25 lakhs that year. Otherwise we were not getting more than 10 or 12 lakhs yearly.

Once the Chadarghat Post Office served notice on His Highness, to the effect that he should either in person or by his Muhktar (agent), take away a parcel that came to his address. I carried on a lengthy correspondence on this matter, and reminded the Residency that such impertinences on the part of its subordinates must not be continued, or they must be removed to Bolarum altogether.

As the final instance, I may mention that the Minister issued "Mansabs" and allowances independently, without reference to His Highness, and that I put a stop to such independent action.

And so, as the outcome of it all, the officials of the State, becoming impatient of my strict supervision, made common cause and prepared to oppose me.

I was on the look out for an opportunity to retire from office, because the Minister became openly hostile to me and Mr. Plowden began to support him with his full strength; when the Minister sent Mr. Hormusji and Mr. Faridunji to me, with a message that I should now retire, and that he took the responsibllity of maintaining my rights and emoluments.

I replied that I was a servant, and could not of my own accord relinquish office, and that after God and His Holy Prophet, my duty lay with His Highness: but I suggested that the Minister or Mr. Plowden might move in the matter and ask for my removal. And I reminded Mr. Hormusji that he owed his appointment as Secretary to me, as also the Mansab of Rs.500 which he enjoyed. For, apart from my recommendation, His Highness disliked the very mention of his name.

Mr. Faridunji* then spoke a few words of advice to me, after which the two gentlemen departed.

I, of course, had for some time past a premonition of my political death, for the Minister had begun to look upon me as his opponent, and I was no match for a nobleman of his high position but I was afraid to apply to be relieved, lest His Highness should think that I did so for the purpose of my own selfish ends.

The tug-of-war proceeded with increasing strength. Mr. Lauder, who was a private servant of the Minister, began to cast greedy eyes on Mr. Faridunji's appointment, and he was strongly supported in this both by the Minister and Mr. Plowden ; but to appoint one whose actions could not be controlled to a position of such delicacy, was extremely inadvisable and not without danger. His Highness therefore approved my opinion, and Mr. Faridunji was retained.

During this period the question of His Exalted Highness Sir Mir Osman Ali Khan Bahadur, the bright star of the firmament of royalty, and the illustrious scion of the glorious house of Asaf Jah, arose. I humbly suggested that Captain John Clerk, who had already had the honour of being His Highness's tutor, should be sent for. A man of great firmness and high ideals, he was an equerry to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, and a special associate of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales ; further, he was honoured with the title of Mustakil Jung, Istikam-ud-dowlah, Khan Bahadur, and enjoyed a Mansab of Rs.7000. Therefore his personality would carry weight with the Government of India. I accordingly, by command, wrote to Captain John Clerk that His Highness fully appreciated his services, and that if he was inclined to come again to India, he should immediately do so.

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* *Vide* "Reminiscences of Mr. Eardley Norton," showing how Mr. Faridunji was saved from being removed from the Service by the kindly intervention of the author.

Mr. Plowden, however, was dipleased with my action and, although he had not the power to stop it, he resorted to meanness, and spoilt the effect of this excellent plan, and in doing so, gave Dr. Lauder an opportunity to avenge himself on me. The clouds were now gathering thick around me.

One day the agent of the Bank of Bengal—whose name I forget—came to see me, with Mr. Palmer, and he told me a strange story. I was thrown into great anxiety at the thought of how these people could take the liberty of doing such a thing, as if they believed themselves to be the rightful masters of the Asafia Dominions. It was inconceivable that a transaction of such important a nature could be entered into without the express permission and sanction of His Highness ; and it seemed as if Mr. Plowden had in his love for the Minister, very soon become unmindful of the words " free-hand," used by the Viceroy in his speech at the banquet.

I at once applied to His Highness for an audience, respectfully submitting to him that an urgent matter required it. His Highness immediately summoned me to his presence, and I informed him of the facts of the case, the details of which are these.

Mr. Hormusji who had become Nawab Vikar-ul-Umra's special adviser, had in spite of the fact that he knew nothing of finance, prepared, on the advice of Mr. Plowden a certain financial scheme. As the circulation of the Halli Sicca currency was reduced in the Bazaar, this scheme provided that our Railway shares, lying uselessly in England, should be sold, and with the money thus realized, silver should be bought in England, sent to the Bombay Mint, to be coined, and then thrown into the market.

The agent of the Bank of Bengal was of opinion that there was a sufficiency of Halli Currency, but that, because of maladministration and loss of credit due to the incapacity of the Revenue Minister, the Sowcars (local bankers) were holding it back.

I humbly suggested to His Highness that the Railway Shares were purposely kept intact to be used in cases of exceptional necessity (which God forbid !); that these were now in danger of being swept away, and that the scheme in its conception was but a foolish venture. Who would be responsible for the great loss occasioned, first in buying silver in England, and then in paying for its freight to Bombay, and for minting it there. And I pointed out, that though the scheme, whether good or bad might be a debatable point, what a terrible thing it was that, in a matter of such vast importance, action should be taken independently and without any reference to and permission of His Highness! The art of finance was of so complicated a nature that even far-sighted and experienced European and American statesmen had sometimes made mistakes, and brought the country to the verge of bankruptcy. It was therefore surprising that the Minister, whose vision and experience was limited, should have taken this momentous step.

Among the Muslims Hassan Mohmundi Abul Fazl* had left a name behind as a financier, which would remain a shining example for posterity, though the Hindus, as a rule, excel the Muslims in this art.—In our own times the Marwaris had distinguished themselves.

As I was submitting my suggestion, a letter from Mr. Palmer was handed to me, which was to the effect that Mr. Crawley, the Comptroller-General, was leaving the next morning with the scheme for Calcutta, to consult and solicit the help of the Finance Member of the Governor-General's Council. This was another unexpected development.

I, by command of His Highness, immediately telephoned to Mr. Crawley that if he went to the station the next day he must consider himself dismissed.

The storm this message raised was beyond description. First, Mr. Crawley came to me in a fright, and having apologised, returned to the precincts of his house; and then Mr. Plowden came in a great rage, and without taking off his hat, and before taking his seat, enquired of His Highness in a harsh tone whether Server Jung was Minister here or Vikar-ul-Umra. It is not necessary for me to write further details of the incident.

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* *Abul Fazl.*—The celebrated Minister and historian of Akbar. He was murdered by Bihr Singh Deo, the younger brother of Ramchand and head of the Nundela clan, to oblige Prince Salim, afterwards the Emperor Jehangir, on August 12th, 1602. The murder is fully described in "The Emperor Akbar," by Count Von Noer (translated by A. S. Beveridge), Calcutta, 1890, Vol. II., pages 384-404.

I sought an audience, and humbly submitted that Mr. Plowden, on account of myself, was committing indiscretions, and was harsh and impolite towards His Highness, which I, his devoted servant could not bear to see. Besides, the Minister and his advisers were trying to assume to themselves independent powers, and that, as they would leave no stone unturned to gain their object, my retirement at the time was therefore expedient.

His Highness said, " Hazrat if you retire, I might as well relinquish the Gadi."

I humbly submitted that I was not going to separate myself from his Royal feet, for as Sadi says,

> " One who betook himself from the gate of thy
> shrine,
> Found no honour wherever he went."

Expediency however, demanded that these hard times should be tided over, and then, as the poet said :—

> " Send for me in sympathy and love whenever you
> wish,
> I am not the hour which once being past cannot
> return."

His Highness summoned Nawab Amir-i-Kabir, who was waiting in the outer room, and consulted him. The Nawab was an experienced old nobleman of high courage, and he submitted that this was all due to Mr. Plowden's malice and contumacy, and that if the Government of India came to know of his tactics they would not hesitate to call him to account ; and he solicited permission to explain matters to Mr. Plowden.

Finally, as I still insisted, it was decided that I should retire for a short time.

But a week had not elapsed before Mr. Plowden again wrote a threatening letter. His Highness summoned Nawab Amir-i-Kabir, who submitted that there was no reason why His Highness should worry, and that he was prepared to bring Mr. Plowden to his proper senses either here or through the Government of India. But as His Highness continued to be thoughtful and sorry, the

Nawab becoming anxious, said that His Highness might, at best, permit Server Jung to go, by accepting his suggestion for a short retirement.

His Highness replied that he could spare me only for six months—that I must positively return at the end of that period to my work. In other words, I was granted only six months' leave.

I has just finished my "maghrib" prayers when Nawab Amir-i-Kabir (may God rest his soul in peace)! sent word to me of what had happened.

I at once called in Moulvi Ahmed Hussain, my assistant. A loyal and conscientious man, he had received his training under me, and I looked upon him as my son.* I entrusted all matters to him, and then, after "Issha" prayers, I made the "Istikahara" (divination), and that suggested that I should leave at once. Accordingly I sent for my son-in-law, Surbuland Jung, and told him that I was leaving by the morning train, and he should explain the matter to his mother-in-law and the children, so that they might not be worried. He and Ahmed Hussain began to weep.

I then wrote a petition to His Highness, and gave it to my servant Malliah to deliver, but he returned and said that His Highness was asleep, and that it was 2 a.m. So I asked him to deliver the petition so that when His Highness awoke he could read it at his leisure,

The gist of my petition was, that His Highness's devoted servant was starting by the morning train, and was leaving his family behind him, under the Royal protection. I also mentioned that the "Istikahara," too suggested that I should leave immediately. Further, I referred to some matters in detail, but any reference to them here is unnecessary.

After the morning prayers, belted and turbanned, I entered the Government carriage and pair, with the

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* Sir Ahmed Hussain (Amin Jung Bahadur), K.C.I.E., C.S.I. LL.D., is too well known to the Hyderabad public to require any introduction.

In gratitude for the many marks of kindness he had constantly received from the author, he pressed the latter to look upon him as his son, and begged permission to address him, as a mark of his love towards him, as his father. No wonder, then, that he wept when he heard that his chief and benefactor was going away!

" chobdar " seated on the coach-box, and left direct for the station.* There I met Colonel Dobbs, and through him I sent a message to Mr. Plowden in the words of the poet :—

" Lo, I leave the presence of my beloved,
But thou too, O rival, shalt not long remain ! "

Here ends the story of my life in Hyderabad.†

It is a fact well known all over the City, that when, after I had left that morning, His Highness woke up and read my letter, he took my departure so much to heart that he shed tears, and refused his meals for three days. Also the whole City was thrown into a state of excitement.

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* 30th Sheba, 1314 H. (1897 A.D.)

† The author, after his departure from Hyderabad, continued to take an active interest in the welfare of the State, as is evident from his Memorandum, which was published at Simla on the 13th September, 1897, over his signature.

Soon after the publication of this Memorandum, Mr. Chichele Plowden, vacated the Residency in favour of Colonel Sir David Barr, and some of the officials who were antagonistic to the best interests of the State, followed suit.—(*Vide* Appendix No. 1.)

APPENDIX I

MEMORANDUM.

During the past few months, not only has one of the leading dailies in India "The Pioneer,"* devoted its columns to the discussion of Hyderabad affairs, but even some English papers (notably "The Fortnightly Review") have been induced to advocate and ventilate certain views on the politics of the Hyderabad State, in sympathy with the present order of things. In justice to the "Pioneer," it may be said that, if that paper had been persistently misled into grave errors of reasoning, founded on data suborned to convey the distorted assertions of interested persons, the fault is attributable not to any interested motives, on the part of its responsible Editors, but simply to the lack of authentic and disinterested sources of information. "The Pioneer" is justly considered a reliable exponent of Anglo-Indian opinion, and its utterances on Indian topics naturally carry more weight even in high official circles than do those of most English papers. But as the recent assertions of the "The Pioneer" in regard to current political events in Hyderabad, are calculated to create a wrong impression on the authorities most affected by the points at issue, it is an urgent necessity that the facts concerning the hypotheses suggested should be ventilated in their true light, for the purpose of counteracting the possible, and not the improbable, misapprehensions that may have arisen from the statements to which "The Pioneer" has unwarily committed itself. At the same time, it is not pretended that all the matters which form the grounds of controversy can be covered in the limited space afforded by this Memorandum.

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* *The Pioneer*, it will be noticed, has since assumed a *volte-face* in its policy, and, while formerly it steadily set its face against any innovations, has now become a champion of the just aspirations of the Indian people.

Mr. Rock's article on "The New Era at Hyderabad," in the "Fortnightly Review" for June, 1897, is the first matter that has, however, to be dealt with, and it is scarcely necessary to remark that, for any legitimate controversial purpose, that article is really not worth the paper on which it is printed. The most casual superficial reader would perceive at a glance, that it was not prompted by any lofty conception of the writer's duty to the Hyderabad State, nor was it the result of a fair and impartial consideration of the questions dealt with; but that it was actuated by motives of a very different kind, overspread as the article is by the rabid animus and vindictive misrepresentations which characterise its inception and publication, and which call for a few words of explanation.

Mr. Rock was appointed Agent to His Highness the Nizam's Government by Sir Salar Jung I, and he will be the last no doubt, to deny that he made the best of this lucrative position. With the death of Salar Jung II, Mr. Rock's business began to vanish, and during the régime of Sir Asman Jah—nay, even in Colonel Marshall's time—he practically lost the Agency, and the firm of Messrs. Henry S. King and Co. established itself in Hyderabad under the auspices of Moulvie Mehdi Ali, a "North-Western" official, who filled the post of financial Secretary. It will thus be easily understood how Mr. Rock's inveterate hatred for what he is pleased to call "the brood of North Western officials at Hyderabad" originated.

That he should now single me out as a mark of his special animosity, and pour the vials of his wrath upon my head in an English periodical, is only one, perhaps, of many thrusts that might have been expected ot so sadly disappointed a man, for I was, unfortunately, placed in the position of a medium of communication regarding certain claims which Mr. Rock had put forward against the Salar Jung Estate, of which His Highness was the administrator, and the correspondence regarding the adjustment of those claims devolved on myself as His Highness's Peshi Secretary. But Mr. Rock has a personal grievance against me, and that had its origin in the circumstances that his claim was not admitted until the accounts submitted by him had, as was only natural, been audited; and furthermore, Mr. Rock resented the appointment of Messrs. Henry S. King and Co., as Auditors on behalf of the Estate, for the reason that he regarded them as his business rivals, The appointment of Messrs. Henry S. King and Co., however, was not intended in the least way to reflect on Mr. Rock's probity as a commercial man, but was resorted to for the reason that, as that firm was doing business with the Nizam and the State on practically the same lines as Mr. Rock had done, they would the better be able to examine and check the latter's accounts, and, further, that as both firms were located in London, any points of difference that might arise would the more easily be adjusted by a conference between the two firms than by means of a possibly prolonged correspondence between London and Hyderabad. The position, however, appears to have become gall and wormwood to Mr. Rock and in this fact will be found the reason for the vituperation, which having lain dormant, has now found an opportunity for expression in the article in the "Fortnightly Review."

The "fons et origo" of Mr. Rock's brochure, may, therefore, be dismissed with a few words as to his personality. In his brochure he first gives, from his own point of view, a description of the "old era" at Hyderabad, and then commits himself to statements in regard to the "new era," in which he points to a radical improvement in the State; while he very naively concludes by expressing the hope that the Supreme Government will now be good enough (this being the Jubilee year) to accord the Hyderabad State more generous treatment, especially in the matter of the Berars. Unfortunately for Mr. Rock, the assertions constituting the "new era" exist only in his perfervid imagination, and his alleged facts are but a poetic effusion; and, further, the significance of his whole article is nullified by the fact that two days after its arrival in Hyderabad, His Highness showed his "confidence in the Minister" and the "cordial relations" that existed between them, by dismissing and deporting Mr. Hormusji N. Vakeel, who was the Minister's right-hand man, and who stood to him practically as "Friday" did to "Robinson Crusoe." Lastly, Mr. Rock should know that, in this thankless world, only too often (alas !) " virtue is her own reward " ; and he will probably realise that his literary labours on behalf of the present Minister will remain unrequited, notwithstanding the fact that he has influential friends in close touch with Sir Vikar, and also despite the fact that all his North-Western enemies have, more or less, made their exit from the scene of what he is pleased to term their "machinations." As for the " new era " which he so sanguinely belauds, the truth of his predictions was sufficiently foreshadowed by the fact that the Hyderabad State was then in a fair way of being burdened with a loan of a crore of rupees, and this because of " the most powerful Minister Hyderabad has known since the first Sir Salar Jung.

Having thus leniently disposed of Mr. Rock and his maiden political essay in defence of his patron, we next proceed to scrutinize the statements of "The Pioneer," with a view to substituting facts for the " fictions " which it has been led to state, and thus to dissipate any evil impressions which those statements may have made, for it will be found that what has been asserted through the columns of the most well-informed paper in India, has been evolved out of the minds of people who are prepared to sacrifice Truth at the Shrine of Lucre—and Hyderabad contains many such !

Before, however, proceeding any further, it is necessary first to observe that in considering the rights, prerogatives, and precedence of the Native States forming the Empire of India, a factor of primary importance is, that there are two classes of Native States whose relations to the Paramount Power are altogether distinct, by reason of the circumstances that some like the States of Mysore and Bhopal, owe their creation and existence to the British power, while others, like the States of the Nizam, Scindia and Holkar, existed when the Paramount Power was establishing itself in India during a period that was long anterior to Dupleix and Clive.

Foremost amongst the Rulers of the latter class, stands His Highness the Nizam, who may justly be regarded as the " First Prince in India," not only by reason of the extent and importance of his territory and resources, but more especially, as has been admitted that the Ruler of the Deccan had consistently been the one faithful and unswerving ally from whom England, during the three successive stages of her power—first as a Trading Company then as the Paramount Power, and now as an Asiatic Empire—has always received assistance—in other words, from the very dawn of British Indian History in 1600 A.D. to the inception and origin but a decade ago, of the Imperial Service Troops, which now form one of the bulwarks of the Indian Empire.

It is foreign to the purpose of this paper to dwell on the aid that has from time to time been rendered by the Nizam to the British Raj, for these are matters of history, and will be found faithfully reflected in the Despatches of the Hero of Assaye and the records of the Sepoy War. It will, nevertheless, be conceded that the debt of gratitude as between the Nizam and the British Government is altogether one-sided, as a proof of which may be instanced the restitution of a small extent of territory, when the British Government in that manner acknowledged the adherence during the turmoils of 1857 of the Hyderabad State, through the illustrious Sir Salar Jung.

As to the policy, or rather the policies, pursued by the Government of India in their relations with the Nizam, the following brief retrospect may prove instructive to such as do not pin their faith to the chartered utterances of the advocates of, and sticklers for, the present régime in Hyderabad.

It may be stated generally that it has been the custom of the Supreme Government, in all their dealings with the Nizam, to treat His Highness as the fountain and source of all authority within his dominions. Instances, however, have doubtless occurred (such as that of the Minister Chandu Lall) where they have supported the Minister against the Sovereign ; but as a general rule, the wisdom of such a policy as the latter has been deemed most questionable, and later Viceroys have carefully avoided this mistake, as in the cases of Narinder Pershad, Salar Jung II, and Sir Asman Jah, in which the prerogative of His Highness was consistently maintained.

As a recent departure from this conventional policy, however, may be mentioned the case of the present Minister, Sir Vikar-ul-Umra, in which, with amazing persistency, Mr. Plowden has actually interposed, and has, indeed, overruled the legitimate wishes of the Nizam.

The fact is on record that His Highness was, from the outset, opposed to the appointment of Sir Vikar-ul-Umra, and that he made known his sentiments to the Resident and the story is worth recording. The more earnestly His Highness objected to the proposed appointments however, the more persistent Mr. Plowden became; and had I not prevailed upon His Highness to yield to the wishes of Mr. Plowden, all India would have been startled by a much more serious upheaval than the diplomatic expediency which caused me to leave Hyderabad. Mr. Plowden carried his characteristic obstinacy in regard to his nominee's appointment to the office of Minister so far as to stoop, among other wonted devices, to that of making up a case against Sir Asman Jah, by insisting on the trial of Jawad Hussain, the incidents of which are still fresh in the memory of the Hyderabad public. That poor maniac was seriously charged with attempting to blow up the Residency and the Resident with the empty cartridges which the Police had dexterously managed to smuggle into his pockets; and the case dragged on for weeks, with the disappointing result that at the most the Resident was alleged to have been in great danger of being shot at by a "maniac" archer. The Jawad-Hussain case, which has become proverbial in Hyderabad circles, was got up with the but too thinly-disguised intention of ultimately incriminating Sir Asman Jah, through Mehdi Ali, one of his Secretaries, who was supposed to have patronised the accused; but before the case could finish, Mr. Plowden gained his object another way by so magnifying the circumstances of the Lakh Bribery, as to force His Highness's hand into removing Sir Asman Jah and Mehdi Ali.

His Highness did, indeed, assent to the removal of Sir Asman Jah, but on no account would he assent—still less "give," as "The Pioneer" states, "his full approval" to the appointment of Sir Vikar-ul-Umra. He commanded me to interview Mr. Plowden with written instructions (which I still hold in the original), in which he detailed his reasons in definite language for not accepting the Resident's recommendation in favour of his protégé. But Mr. Plowden's resources were not exhausted; he had a quiverful of artifices, and if that of hectoring failed him, that of cajolery served him in good stead.

His Highness objections were got over by Sir Vikar being made to write an Ikrarnamah or Agreement, in which he promised amongst other things, to respect the Rules and Regulations laid down by His Highness in the " Kanuncha Mubarak " or New Constitution, and not to introduce any of his private servants into the Service of the State. He was also specially enjoined by His Highness to devote his full time to the management of the Finances, the details of the Administration being left to the free and unhampered control of the Assistant Ministers; and Mr Plowden himself stood guarantee for the due fulfilment of the agreement. The result was that a formal indictment was framed against Sir Asman Jah, and Lord Lansdowne was informed of the nomination of Sir Vikar. Correspondence then ensued, in which His Highness took the precaution of preparing the Government of India for any change that he might consider advisable, in the event of his being dissatisfied with the incumbent of the office of Minister; and such an eventuality was, in the case of Sir Vikar, by no means improbable. As a matter of fact, ever since Sir Salar Jung's death, His Highness has found himself under the necessity of changing his Ministers in the fond hope of getting somebody who would adequately replace that deceased Statesman; and however much British Statesmen may deprecate such chopping and changing, necessity—in the particular case of the Nizam's Ministers—surely forms a sufficient justification. Events have actually proved that all these successive Ministers, have in turn fallen considerably short of the Nizam's expectations and of the standard requisite for the good government of the country; and as " The Pioneer " admits, " The Nizam is very slow to make up his mind towards any decisive step, but his decisions, to do them justice, are in most instances"—it could be truly stated, in *all* instances—" ultimately influenced by what he believes to be the general wish of his people."

As regards the present Minister, His Highness, after much hesitancy for which he had the best reasons, readily accepted the suggestion of the Government of India that the appointment should be only probationary for a limited period. The sequel to this probationary appointment, though not proclaimed from journalistic housetops, is sufficiently well-known and well-remembered by the Hyderabad public—how Mr. Plowden pressed His Highness to make his nominee permanent, how His Highness contrived to evade the Resident's officious importunity, and how my services were called into requisition, even by Mr. Plowden—and that so much so, that it was actually impossible for me to attend the weddings of two of my children, which took place at the time that Mr. Plowden saw fit to press the permanency of Sir Vikar on the Nizam.

Suffice it to say that Mr. Plowden succeeded eventually, by the adoption of more stratagem than diplomacy, in prevailing upon and inducing His Highness to make Sir Vikar's appointment permanent, on the plea that as he (Mr. Plowden) was going home on leave, he "would enjoy more peace of mind if his request were acceded to"; and when he had one foot on the step of his railway carriage and the other on the platform, the document of which Mr. Plowden had been so importunate and solicitous and which was to ensure his "peace of mind," was handed to him!

One fails to understand why "The Pioneer," in a leading article in its issue of the 7th July, 1897, goes out of its way to contradict the statement of the "Madras Mail," that, from the commencement, the present Minister has not enjoyed his master's confidence, because he was, "to a certain extent, thrust upon His Highness by the Resident." Those who are aware of the facts differ from the "Madras Mail" only so far as this, namely that the words "to a certain extent" should have been substituted by the word "wholly." The "Pioneer" has incorrectly stated, too, that the present Minister has fulfilled the conditions of the "Kanuncha." Indeed, the probable reason why The Pioneer" considers the "Kanuncha" unworkable is that the new Minister is unable to work upon those lines, which were designedly framed so as to leave no room for personal ambition. One great difference between Sir Salar Jung and his successors is, that, whereas the former during the minority of the Nizam, was (as Regent) necessarily allowed to concentrate all authority in himself, his successors and their supporters continue notwithstanding the fact that the reason for that authority has now ceased, to aspire to the same independence, and thus, in a manner, try to relegate the Nizam to the second position in his own Sovereignty !

But the question will naturally suggest itself,—how could the Nizam, having such strong objections to Sir Vikar's appointment, have consented to yield the point under discussion ? The answer is indicated by the words of " The Pioneer " itself, which are as follows :— " Nor do we believe that the Resident ever interfered, or thought of interfering, on behalf of the disgraced Secretary (Hormusji). It would have been carrying matters a little too far, if, after advising the Nizam to dispense with the services of one servant to whom he was attached, he should have advised him—and advice from such a source is nearly equal to an order—to retain another for whom he had a cordial dislike." The fact was, that His Highness was at the time heart and soul engaged in formulating " Kanuncha Mubarak." and, like a fond parent, was anxious to see the offspring of his thought and deliberation embarked on its career with every chance secured for its success. It was incumbent on His Highness, therefore to keep the Supreme Government in sympathy with his designs and efforts to effect salutary reforms, and he could not—and no Native Chief or Ruler ever can—succeed in enlisting such sympathy without humouring an imperious " Political " like Mr. Plowden. In a word, His Highness's concession was but " a tub to a whale," to save the Ship of State !

From Sir Vikar's appointment to the " projected " Financial Crisis, is but a natural transition in the relation of " cause " and " effect." This crisis, even if its existence be admitted, has been the subject of shameless exaggeration in order to subserve the personal and political ends of the party opposed to the Nizam ; and it is high time that more sober and common sense views should prevail, even if it cannot be demonstrated that in this, as in many other respects, the Sovereign of the State finds himself in the unique position of being tilted at by his officials and others, whose endeavour is to show that they are more sinned against than sinning.

It has been shewn how Mr. Plowden's artifice enabled him to thrust Sir Vikar upon the Nizam, despite His Highness's wishes, and the reasons assigned by him for his not appointing Sir Vikar to the office of Minister of a

State, where there were involved the well-being of eleven million people and the conservation of a revenue of nearly Four Crores of Rupees annually. Even "The Pioneer" does not attempt to deny the fact of Sir Vikar having been thrust upon the Nizam, though it seeks to explain it away in its anxiety to throw oil upon troubled waters—and this only too conspicuously (on the part of its correspondent) in the interests of the present Minister, and possibly to prop up a bad case, in so far as Mr. Plowden's identity with the deplorable condition of things is concerned.

Now every one conversant with Hyderabad affairs will remember that when Sir Asman Jah held the office of Minister, the State Finances were somehow brought to a condition of utter chaos; and then too, as now, a cry was raised against His Highness, who was charged with being the direct cause of the depletion in the Treasury through his personal extravagance. Fortunately for the cause of both Truth and Justice, it happened that His Highness then had a conscientious Resident in the person of Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick, whose methods, as well as his reputation, differed absolutely from those of his successor of Kashmir fame. The then "custodians of His Highness's prestige"—for it was under that appellation that they pursued their designs—were called upon to substantiate the charge of extravagance, and, as an incontrovertible proof of their loyal allegations, they drew up and submitted what purported to be a Thirteen Years' Statement of the State's Income and Expenditure. But in Sir Dennis they evidently reckoned without their host. Influenced as he was, by integrity and honesty of purpose, and, while biased by no sordid motives of his own, intent in unravelling the facts, he, thorough man of business and astute lawyer as he was, was not long in detecting that things were not as they were represented to be; and as he was then on the eve of the departure to England, prior to his taking up the reins of the Punjab Government, he took the Accounts home with him, and there subjected them, item by item, to an actuarial analysis and scrutiny. That done, he drew up an elaborate report, in which, while mildly animadverting on the Nizam's accusers, he did not hesitate to paint as vividly as the occasion required, the ruin and misery that awaited the State, if immediate steps were not taken to remedy the evils that were pointed out as imminent. This report was not diverted from its legitimate course, for Sir Dennis sent it to His Highness direct accompanied by a friendly letter, which contained valuable suggestions from himself.

His Highness was thus, for the first time, in the position of having the truth revealed to him, and he was not a little astonished at the degree which the audacity of his officials had reached, when, as was discovered, they were guilty of imputing the results of their own mismanagement and neglect to the extravagance of their Sovereign—an imputation which, in different circumstances, might never have reached His Highness's ears, but which would doubtless have remained unquestioned, and would possibly have gained credence and acceptance in high places.

Then, as now, the motive of these people in trumping up such a charge against His Highness, was to discredit him with the Government of India, and, if possible, to reduce him to the condition of a nonentity and to exalt themselves. Nor are the horde of His Highness's calumniators more faithful to the salt they eat, now that Sir Dennis is not in Hyderabad. On the contrary, they are, plying their trade with even more assiduity, and with greater hope of success ; for while Sir Dennis fulfilled the duties of his office as Resident at the Court of the Nizam as a friend and adviser of "Our Faithful Ally," Mr. Plowden has not only adopted a policy out of all sympathy with the Sovereign and the State's interests, but has, by deed and word, assumed an attitude that cannot be interpreted to bear any other construction than that of encouragement of the aims and aspirations of His Highness' disloyal calumniators.

The result of Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick's letters and Report addressed to His Highness, was the celebrated "Kanuncha Mubarak" or New Constitution, which the "Oracle of Allahabad"—inspired no doubt, by a very well-known newsagent, whose pay and expectations form the measure of what he writes and ventilates—has condemned as "unworkable." The term "inspired" is advisedly used, for it cannot be assumed that the actual editorial staff of "The Pioneer" (and one cannot suppose that every penny-a-liner who contributes to its columns is regarded as a part of the editorial "sanctum sanctorum"?)

can have any opportunity to judge of the provisions of the "Kanuncha" and of the requirements of the Hyderabad State for which they are intended. Let any fair-minded and unbiassed statesman examine the "Kanuncha" in all its bearings, and the convictions will be forced upon him that it is not only theoretically flawless, but is eminently adapted to the peculiar requirements and unique exigencies of the Hyderabad State. Whilst safeguarding and securing His Highness's prerogative as absolute Ruler of the State (vide "Pioneer" of the 7th, July, 1897), it yet decentralises the authority which had hitherto found its sole pivot in the person of the Prime Minister. In other words, it has removed the evil of two contemporary rulers—the proverbial "imperium in imperio" which, like the two powers of Zoroaster, wage eternal warfare. This evil has existed in all its enormity at Hyderabad ever since the death of Sir Salar Jung I, whose long term of absolute authority as Regent, during the minority of the Nizam, excited the envy and ambition of his successors for the same or similar powers—an ambition, of course, that is, since the attainment by the Nizam of his majority, puerile and out of place.

So long, then, as these latter-day Ministers have the support of the British Resident in their opposition to the Nizam's wishes and policy, and so long as unprincipled mercenaries, disappointed parasites, and sycophants (assisted by newspaper scribes, whose living lies in adapting themselves to the requirements of their paymasters) continue to excite such cupidity in the breasts of these latter-day Ministers, not only will the unassailable "Kanuncha" be stigmatised as unworkable, but anything and everything will be devoid of fitness or adaptability, that in the least way conflicts with these persons own schemes and devices or with the interests of their entourage. The herd of servile scribblers already alluded to, are always ready to denounce the religious as fanatic and the orthodox as heterodox; and though their opinions and effusions are irresponsible, the fact has to be borne in mind, that facilities are afforded them of misleading public opinion through the columns of papers of unimpeachable respectability and status, the proprietors of which are probably not aware of the fact, that such scribblers are well able to estimate the value of the particular canard they may be asked to ventilate, and that while they assess and receive the value to the party concerned of their services, they also receive payment from the paper.

But to revert to the subject of the Hyderabad Finances It has already been pointed out that one of the chief objects of the Kanuncha was to retrieve the defects which came to light after Sir Asman Jah's mismanagement of the Finances; and, indeed, the Third Part of the Royal Charter is wholly devoted to the control of the Finances. In order to see that the orders and instructions contained in it were properly carried into effect, His Highness, acting under the advice of Lord Lansdowne, applied to the Government of India for the services of the promised expert Financier, a step which not only made it manifest that His Highness was anxious to give effect to the Viceroy's advice, but also gave a practical demonstration of his anxiety to bring the Finances of the State into a healthy and prosperous condition. His endeavours were, however, frustrated by what may be regarded as two sad fatalities. First the Government of India found themselves unable, at the eleventh hour, to comply with the special request His Highness had made to them, and so instead of the promised expert, the services of quite a different man were placed at His Highness's disposal. (Reference to the gentleman in question is unavoidable, as one " cannot make an omelette without breaking eggs.") In the second place, an unacceptable Minister was foisted upon the unwilling Nizam by Mr. Plowden.

Still, bearing in mind the advice of successive Viceroys, His Highness did not despair of overcoming the lions in his path. He therefore set about business anew, and accepted the suggestion of causing the Minister (since he was Mr. Plowden's nominee alone) to write out the agreement already referred to, and thereby bind himself, amongst other things, to endeavour to bring about a thorough financial reform by carrying out His Highness's orders as contained in Part II. of the " Kanuncha." Not content with this agreement, His Highness continued to issue instructions from time to time, with a view not only to curtail unnecessary expenditure, but also to point out the proper methods of developing the resources of the State. Among numberless instances of curtailment, two deserve special mention. It was customary for responsible officials, in order to find employment for their friends and partizans to split up the work of one office into several branches. This was now strictly forbidden, and the Minister was charged to re-amalgamate these several branches, and thus to effect economy. It was also a recognised custom for the Minister to find emoluments for the people of his party, and so on the plea that he required their services as trustworthy agents, advisers, or supporters, these people superseded the partizan's or protégés of the previous Minister, with the result that for each appointment so appropriated two salaries were paid, for the Ex-Minister's people were "shelved" with pay. His Highness therefore rightly insisted that these latter should either be replaced on the active list, or be discharged with a pension or gratuity, to whichever they were eligible.

Again in connexion with the development of resources special attention was drawn by His Highness to the encouragement of Commerce by the construction of district roads, and especially of "Railway feeders"; to the promotion of Agriculture, and the increase of out-turn by the construction and repair of tanks and other irrigational works; and to the encouragement of Mining Companies and the opening up of Railways. In short, minute and detailed orders were issued by His Highness, and are on record, dealing with every Department of the State.

And here, with due deference to His Highness, may be introduced the delicate subject of the Nizam's personal expenditure—the "scandal of scandals" of a suborned Press—regarding which so much misrepresentation and calumny have so persistently been reiterated. In the first year of the "Kanuncha" (1893), this item of account was, for the first time, the subject of a statement prepared by Mr. Harold, in which that gentleman demonstrated the utter falsity of the charge of extravagance imputed to His Highness, by submitting to a careful analysis the sums debited in the State Budget under the head, "Payments to His Highness." That account proved conclusively that the purely personal expenses of His Highness amounted, after all, to an average only of 9½ Lakhs against a State Revenue of 3½ Crores of Rupees, which is equal to something over 2½ per cent! Mr. Harold, it may be added, paid dearly for his conscientiousness in allowing fact to take the place of fiction, for he soon found hinself in disfavour and precluded from all chances of future promotion.

Another attempt was, however, made by the Minister and his party to revive the now exploded charge, and this time His Highness met it by issuing instructions to Mr. Dunlop, when that gentleman was preparing the Annual Administration Report, to unravel the tangled skein arising out of the conventional system of accounts, and to eliminate, segregate, and classify under their proper headings, certain items of expenditure which had been improperly debited to the personal expenditure of His Highness. This order Mr. Dunlop complied with, but His Highness had taken the precaution to insist (knowing that this officer was a partizan of the Minister) that the work would be done in the presence of his Peshi Secretary. And it may be here noted that His Highness, at the same time, issued strict orders that no trader or merchant should be admitted within the Palace precincts.

To summarise ; as often as His Highness requested the Minister and his party to set the question of his personal expenditure on a satisfactory basis, so often were his commands ignored and set at naught ; and the conventional methods were persisted in, in order to furnish Mr. Plowden with plausible grounds for keeping alive the charge in all its pristine falsity. The result of all this friction, was that His Highness, disgusted with being charged with items not properly debitable to him, and annoyed at the persistence and disloyalty of his Minister, at great personal sacrifice, discontinued drawing any money at all from the Treasury, with the natural consequence that the bills against His Highness accumulated until they reached a considerable figure. And oddly enough, the personal sacrifice His Highness thus made, to remove all basis of imputations against himself, has contributed to form the basis of the false charge that has now been brought to the notice of the Government as an instance of His Highness's extravagance.

It now remains to shew how it is that His Highness, after all his laudable efforts to follow the advice of successive Viceroys not only in regard to public administration, but also in regard to his personal expenditure, has not succeeded in introducing his well-considered reform.

So long as Sir Asman Jah was Minister after the introduction of the "Kanuncha," Mr. Plowden not only concurred in His Highness's views but went to great lengths in encouraging the Nizam to circumscribe the hitherto unlimited powers of that Minister. He suggested that the general administration should be divided amongst the Assistant or Departmental Ministers, and that the Prime Minister should only be permitted to control the Finances and confine his sole attention thereto ; and that in initiating schemes of retrenchment of expenditure or development of resources, the Minister was to confer with Members of the Cabinet Council. As soon, however, as Mr. Plowden's nominee, in the person of Sir Vikar-ul-Umra (who had been thrust "nolens volens" on the Nizam) became Minister, the principles Mr. Plowden had so assiduously endeavoured to establish, in order to reduce the power of the Minister, were completely abandoned by him, and he now advocated diametrically opposite views ; and in pursuance of this *volte-face*, he wrote a long letter to His Highness, advising him to give the new Minister his full confidence, and to leave everything to his sole management. Indeed, he even caused His Highness to render the Minister independent of the control of the Cabinet Council, by giving him the power of vetoing any decision arrived at by that body, whether unanimously or by a majority ; and, as an argument in support of his advice on this point, he stated that the Viceroy in Council was granted such power of veto as a preservative of his dignity—an analogy fallacious enough even to outshine Mr. Plowden's ordinary tergiversation !

What followed was ludicrous enough. Whenever His Highness happened to disagree with the Minister, or checked or corrected his views, the latter betook himself to his "creator," Mr. Plowden, beseeching his help, and maligning the unfortunate Peshi Secretary, whom he charged with prompting His Highness's opposition. Such imputation His Highness, be it said to his honour, was not slow to repudiate ; but the constancy with which the Resident backed up the Minister whether the latter were right or wrong, disgusted the Nizam so thoroughly, that he finally decided to accept the lesser of two evils, by giving the Minister "carte blanche," rather than have his authority thus set at defiance through the agency of Mr. Plowden. And it can be easily understood how Mr. Plowden's uncalled for interference resulted in widening the breach between the Nizam and his Minister, especially when considered in the light of the fact that His Highness objected to Sir Vikar's appointment. The Kanuncha was thus practically set aside, and the existence of the Cabinet Council was ignored! Can, therefore, the present condition of things be matter for surprise, and may it not be taken as the antithesis of the thesis?

The Nizam's authority being thus set at nought, the result was only what might have been expected. Large amounts were drawn from the Treasury and disbursed without even the knowledge of His Highness: and the State Treasury to-day stands depleted in respect of the five years of Sir Vikar's administration, of over Sixty Lakhs of Rupees, for which "no account have been rendered." This large sum includes the price of Sir Vikar's Palace, known as "Faluknumah," which was forced upon the Nizam, as a purchase, by Mr. Plowden, in order to enable him to report to Lord Elgin, when the latter visited Hyderabad, that the charge of pauperism and indebtedness which had been laid against the Minister was removed. It also includes other expenses which belong neither to the Nizam nor to the State!

Besides this lavish outlay of ready cash, the Treasury has been burdened with thousands—nay, rather lakhs—of rupees, in order that—strange and ridiculous as it may be to relate—incantations might be read for the purpose of stupefying His Highness's intellect. These sums took the shape of salaries and allowances to Mullahs, Fakirs, Astrologers, and other parasites, and were paid out from the Miscellaneous Department—in which the Minister's powers were inadvertently left undefined, and were, in addition to the Toshakhana, Bawarchikhana, and many other "Khanas" pertaining to the office of Minister—extravagances forbidden by the letter of the "Kanuncha." And yet His Highness is blamed for the present deplorable state of affairs! But, for the present, enough has been said to shew what havoc imperious "Politicals" can play with their charges when they are far removed from the paternal watch and ward of the Foreign Office, and how easy it is for them, after assisting in the depletion of a Treasury in the manner indicated (for example, the enforced purchase of " Falaknumah," which the Nizam has never used and for which he does not appear to have the least fancy), to play upon the unconscious susceptibilities of their official superiors!

But after all, notwithstanding the Minister's lavish extravagances, it is no mere optimism to maintain that even Sir Vikar and his party have failed in their attempts to create the Financial Crisis which they audaciously impute to His Highness. The Balance Sheet prepared by the Comptroller-General last June shows that the State is indebted to the extent of only a little over 25½ lakhs—and even this amount I am prepared to show upon analysis to be ephemeral. But accepting it, this amount may be taken as all that the State need borrow (if borrowing is at all necessary), taking for granted that it succeeds in recovering all the outstandings due to it by the nobles and high officials, in the recovery of which the Minister deliberately puts all the obstacles he can. Among the nobles indebted to the State, may be mentioned Sir Vikar-ul-Umra—a son of the late Amir-i-Kabir, and therefore an hereditary nobleman—now holding the responsible and onerous office of Prime Minister. While there was a popular outcry against the depletion of the Treasury, Sir Vikar raised a sum of Rs.14,000 to Rs.17,000 in the name of the Government, and then with the most intense sang-froid and apparently with the knowledge of the Resident, but without His Highness's leave, or licence, appropriated the whole sum to his own use—ostensibly as a part payment on account of " Falaknumah." In this connexion it is requisite to mention, as showing how keenly alive His Highness was to the fact of his inability to purchase " Falaknumah," that, the purchase being forced upon him, he saw the necessity for stipulating that the balance, after the adjustments of some portion of purchase-money " per contra," was to be liquidated from time to time according as the opportunity was afforded by the condition of the State's finances.

We have now to deal separately with " the Kanuncha Mubarak " or New Constitution of Hyderabad, which has been so ungenerously maligned by the " Oracle of Allahabad " without any show of reason, unless the flippant condemnation of it as "unworkable" may be regarded as the "reductio ad absurdum" of the idea that that well-informed organ of public opinion so authoritatively desires to convey.

It has already been stated how this scheme of Government originated, and it now may be contended that it is not only eminently adapted to the requirements of the Hyderabad State but, regarded merely as a comprehensive literary and administrative fabric, it may justly be pronounced a masterpiece of statecraft such as would do credit to a transcendent order of intellect.

The popular delusion is that every Oriental Ruler (Nawab or Rajah) is more or less an imbecile, a noodle, or a milksop, bred in, and only fit for, the zenana. But, in the case of Hyderabad, the Minister for the time being, is, strangely enough, considered an exception to this rule —which rule, if applicable at all, is even more applicable to those big nobles who, with few exceptions, have had no regular training and no experience of statecraft whatever. Some of them may have visited Europe, but what of that? The proverbial ass of the Prophet, when taken to Jerusalem, still remained an ass—nay, he proved more stubborn and conceited than ever! It should at least strike "The Pioneer" as ridiculously incredible that, while the Nizam is being represented as endued with all the weaknesses of the Sybarite, the noble, who for the time being holds the office of Minister and pulls the purse-strings, should be flauntingly credited with all the wisdom of Solon, and this in face of the fact this his education and environments in no way differ from those of his Sovereign. On the contrary, I have no hesitation in declaring my belief that His Highness Mir Mahbub Ali Khan, the present Nizam of Hyderabad (may he long be spared to grace the Throne he so fitly occupies!) not only stands head and shoulders above all his nobles in point of Western culture, but likewise in natural tact and genius; while in the finer sensibilities, he has, perhaps, no equal—certainly, no superior—among the Princes and Potentates of India.

What insight, it may be asked, can a mere newspaper correspondent—especially the class of writers already described, writing for their bread at the highest price they can procure—possibly have into the real character and mental calibre or idiosyncracies of a personage from whose exalted position he is, in the nature of things, entirely cut off by an impassable gulf that makes that association which tends to knowledge impossible? As well might a denizen of the malarious Terai pretend to speak of the pure atmosphere that surrounds an inaccessible peak of the Himalayas! Yet, it is this very inapproachability of the Nizam and the comparative accessibility of the Minister that furnish the raison d'etre why the former is untruthfully decried and the latter foolishly belauded. The greed of money and the facilities the Minister has for disbursing douceurs from the State vaults to hungry scribes, account only too thoroughly for the utterances of these wily correspondents! If the power over the State Exchequer rested solely with the Nizam, not only the Press vultures, but also the swarm of aspiring officials and Departmental Secretaries, would have little chance of gratifying their unwholesome appetites. Given, however, a Minister with unlimited power over both "place" and "pay" in an Eastern State, then the condition of things prevailing in Hyderabad is a natural corrollary. In this likewise is found the premium for maladministration and misrule. Hence, too, the strange spectacle is witnessed of the Minister of the State clinging to the apron-strings of the Secretaries of his choice, who undertake to guide the helm of affairs in his name, and who are, in fact, each for his own purposes and for his own branch, the "de facto" Minister of Hyderabad. And in this circumstance will be found in fine, the keynote for the denunciation of the "Kanuncha Mubarak," which, having limited the powers of the Minister is only too naturally branded with the mark, "unworkable."

The Kanuncha was published on the 20th of January, 1893, and the principles it enunciated were directed to the attainment of three main objects, namely, (1) the conservation of the Finances of the State; (2) the apportionment of the responsibility of administration between the Prime Minister and the Departmental Ministers; (3) the codification of the Laws of the State. The laying down of bare principles, was however, considered insufficient, and they were therefore illustrated, amplified and regulated by sets of Rules for the Guidance, respectively of:—

I—The Cabinet Council.
II—The Departmental Ministers.
III—The Prime Minister.
IV—The Legislative Council.

The first two sets of Rules were framed and passed a few months before the retirement of Sir Asman Jah, and the last two twice considered and amended have been passed subsequently to the present Minister's being thrust upon His Highness. The contention is thus borne out, that the "Kanuncha" was in force during the latter portion of Sir Asman Jah's Ministry, and so long as he remained Minister, both His Highness and the Resident jealously guarded its provisions—and the latter so much so, that when Sir Asman Jah submitted his draft rules defining the powers of the Prime Minister, Mr. Plowden strenuously opposed them, pointing out to His Highness that they conferred too much power on the Prime Minister, and therefore were contrary to the spirit and principles of the "Kanuncha," And accordingly His Highness framed the rules himself.

Taken as a whole, the "Kanuncha" involved a conspicuous change in the old order of things, curtailing and distributing, as it did, power and responsibility, and therefore it was not surprising to find that Sir Asman Jah and his officials were opposed to its provisions. His Highness encountered a very great deal of difficulty in collecting the old Rules and comparing them with the new, and in ascertaining the practice in existence with regard to the intricate questions affecting a population of eleven millions of his subjects, and the delay that ensued, caused an interval of 2½ years to elapse between the sanction and publication of the first and last set of Rules referred to, during which period His Highness's energy and patience were sorely tried as he attempted to effect the requisite reforms to bring the State Finances into a healthy condition, while at the same time he was occupied in weeding out and correcting the innumerable and serious abuses that had crept into all the Departments of the State since the death of Salar Jung I. When it was realised that the rules of the "Kanuncha" comprise 265 sections, relating to matters ranging from the executive functions of the Prime Minister and the Cabinet Council to the customary ceremonies connected with " Nuzzars " and " Khilats," some idea may be formed of the labour His Highness underwent in the interests of his people, embracing in detail, as it did the powers and duties of the Cabinet Council, the Prime Minister, and the Departmental Ministers, while ample provision was made for the settlement of possible differences of opinion amongst a body of men who might be affected by variable influences. The minor and less important duties which formerly appertained to the office of Prime Minister were apportioned amongst the Departmental Ministers, in order to enable the Prime Minister the more fully to devote his time and attention to the Finances of the State, which were placed under his direct control, and for the efficient management of which he was made directly and primarily responsible ; and to accomplish this end in the most efficient manner possible, His Highness, profiting by the reiterated advice of successive Viceroys, adopted the kindly suggestion of Lord Lansdowne, and applied to the Government of India for the services of an officer who would not only help the Prime Minister in matters of account, but would also reform and formulate the system of Public Accounts. So it is strange to find that His Highness is blamed for the maladministration of that very Department which he took so much care to place on the most efficient bases !

But His Highness's indefatigable exertions with regard to the State's Finances did not end with the promulgation of the Rules laid down in the " Kanuncha " for their conservation or with the appointment of a Comptroller-General of Accounts ; but while it would be tedious to enumerate all the matters in connection with which, after promulgation of the " Kanuncha," detailed and stringent orders have from time to time been issued by His Highness to the Prime Minister, the following may be mentioned ; the abolition of the Secret Service Fund ; the restriction of hereditary succession in the Army of the Nazami-Jamiat ; the practical veto to the grant of new " Mansabs " and of the " Youmaihs " or Endowments (which were much abused by the Ministers) ; the reductions in the establishments of the various offices ; the discontinuance of personal exemptions for Custom's Duties ;

and, last but not least, the retrenchment of His Highness's own personal expenditure.

The exertions of His Highness for the introduction of reforms in these directions were supported by Mr. Plowden only so long as the object of his aversion, Sir Asman Jah, was affected by them ; but as soon as Mr. Plowden succeeded in putting Sir Asman Jah out of office as a result of the charges which he fostered against him in connexion with the Jawad Hossein case and the Lakh Bribery, he turned completely around and, changing his policy, regarded as vices, what had heretofore been the virtues of the " Kanuncha." This is no idle metaphor, intended to suit a particular issue, for every phrase of the " Kanuncha " has received Mr. Plowden's approval and praise, and he was consulted in regard to every provision it contained, and his inconsistency became all too conspicuous in view of the incontrovertible fact, that, while during Sir Asman Jah's incumbency he encouraged His Highness (as the " Kanuncha " will prove) to decentralise and distribute the authority of the Prime Minister amongst the Departmental Ministers, after the appointment of his own nominee, Sir Vikar-ul-Umra, he exhorted His Highness " to trust the Prime Minister completely " and to " look to him only for the initiation of all reforms," and " to give him his entire support."

In the foregoing narrative have been recited the objects and reasons which prompted the formulation of the " Kanuncha," and the necessity that entailed its promulgation, and it now remains to be shewn whether its inception has been justified by its existence, notwithstanding the manner in which its provisions have been violated and disregarded.

Initially the " Kanuncha " produced " order " where " chaos " prevailed, the duties of each officer of the State being defined to a degree which left no room for doubt as to what was required of him. To this end, the Departmental Ministers were all apportioned their portfolios, and the Secretaries, who had therefore been the all-powerful levers—in fact, the controllers of the Departments they represented—were reduced to their proper position of amanuenses and advisers on points of routine.

The Cabinet Council held its sittings regularly to consider and discuss matters of administration, in which lay the maturity and efficiency of the ultimate decisions they came to on matters of State. When however, the Ministers were not unanimous, His Highness received the benefit of their deliberations on matters that were submitted to him for his sanction and approval, and he was thus enabled to form a correct opinion on the point at issue. This was effected by the debates of the Council being recorded by the Secretary, for the time being, for His Highness's perusal: and in order to bring all the Secretaries in touch with the policy of the Government, the Secretary of each Department acted in turn as Secretary to the Cabinet Council for a month. This latter plan also effected the purpose of averting vested interests being monopolised and manipulated by one man.

The State's expenditure was brought within control, while the revenue was increased. Budgets were prepared and discussed and submitted for His Highness's sanction and approval within the time specified; and the all-absorbing Secret Service Fund being abolished, adventturers and others who had been the recipients of large sums of money which were debited to that Fund, were thus divested of the rich harvests they used to reap, according to the patronage extended to them while the Secret Service Fund was in existence. Also by the abolition of this Fund, another very desirable and salutary effect was attained namely, that the ambitious intrigues of individuals were defeated by depriving them of the means of paying for the ventilation of self-interested views and the theories, and this contributed in no small degree to circumventing intrigue, which is not only the bane of, but likewise the most deterrent factor to the advancement of the State.

In addition to the foregoing advantages, the method and order created by the " Kanuncha " resulted in the Sovereign's wishes being known and obeyed, while, by creating within well-defined limits, power and authority for his officials, his own authority was made paramount and was respected; and the cordial relations that then existed between His Highness and Mr. Plowden, made it possible for him to enforce the salutary principle that the

Nobles and Officials of the State were not to interview the Resident without permission previously obtained from His Highness—a measure that had a most beneficial effect, while it lasted, in keeping down the evils that had formerly resulted from such interviews.

The most sanguine expectations founded on the introduction of the " Kanuncha " were realised from all points of view during the first two years (1302 and 1303) of its existence. The officials appeared to work together with commendable will and energy, no evidence of friction of any kind being apparent amongst them, and the combination thus secured, raised a column of mutual strength and support that made itself felt ; while the financial result at the end of the second year shewed nett surplus of no less a sum than 25 lakhs of rupees. The Resident (Mr. Plowden) was himself the first to acknowledge the efficient results that had become manifest ; and it is believed that he wrote a very laudatory Report to the Government of India, based on the Balance Sheet that was prepared by the late Financial Secretary, Moulvi Chiragh Ali, which, it is stated, met with the satisfaction of the Government of India, as it made it clear that the apprehensions that had been entertained in regard to to the State's Finances were illusory.

This very desirable and satisfactory state of things did not, however, continue. The knowledge that the Nizam and the Resident were working together on the most cordial terms, did not suit the programme of certain interested parties, who, finding that the " order " that had taken the place of " chaos " militated against their schemes and emoluments, set about finding ways and means for a return to the original condition of things. They seem to have effectually succeeded in playing upon Mr. Plowden's susceptibilities for this gentleman appears to have forgotten the memorable letter from His Highness, in which the latter endeavoured to make it clear that he was jealous of anything in the nature of advisorial relations between his Minister and the Resident, otherwise than through himself. A departure from His Highness's wishes and dictum in this particular emboldened Sir Vikar to aspire to independence of action (only too transparently, with the assistance of Mr. Plowden), and a sequence of incidents occurred, which it would be too tedious to narrate here;

but notable among them was the revival of the Secret Service Fund, of which no accounts have yet been rendered to His Highness, though they have been repeatedly called for. It is sufficient to state that things began steadily to drift from bad to worse, until the " rift within the lute " became so pronounced that the opportunity was afforded to mischief-makers to encompass their illicit ends, and to introduce complications which ran their intended course in effecting the utter disruption and turmoil that now characterise the Government of His Highness the Nizam.

The Nizam's wishes were entirely disregarded by Mr. Plowden, and instead of the latter preserving that inaccessibility (to others than the Prince himself) that, it may be rightly assumed, is desirable in the bearing of the British Representative at the Court of an Independent Prince, he was found in the equivocal position of espousing the cause of the Minister and his party against the Nizam ! Apart from the loss of dignity Mr. Plowden thus imposed on himself, it could hardly be expected that the Nizam would regard complacently the slight thus offered to his dignity as the Sovereign and Ruler of the State ; and the natural resentment that arose in his mind brought matters to a climax in causing disagreement bordering on dislike and aversion in the mind of the Sovereign towards his Minister. Indeed, so thoroughly did Mr. Plowden efface the " raison d'etre " of his presence at Hyderabad, that instead of being the Queen's representative in his relations to " Our Faithful Ally," he was a powerful element of discord, particularly as the " fons et origo " of the ill-feeling he had created between the Ruler and his Chief official, which ill-feeling he continued to accentuate even though he had the fullest knowledge of the Nizam's resentment. It may, in this connexion, be stated that, with such just and tangible ground for complaint, His Highness was the master of the situation and could have represented the facts to the Government of India and asked for Mr. Plowden's removal and substitution. To persons unacquainted with His Highness's spirit of forbearance and patience, the advisability of his silence under such circumstances may appear questionable ; but one has only to know him in order fully to appreciate how anxious he is, and always has been, to preserve unimpaired the excellent relations that have continued to exist between himself and the Paramount Power.

If Mr. Plowden's autocratic acts towards the Nizam had only been covert, his defender would probably endeavour to bring them within the category of explainable misunderstandings; but they all have been only too overt to lie within any explanation other than that which appears on the surface. Amongst several instances which might be cited are the incidents connected with the visit to Hyderabad of a Governor of Madras, the " Khareeta," and Post Office incidents—which are well-known to the Government of India—and the curious circumstances that His Highness had to apply for tickets to take his staff on the Railway platform on the occasion of Lord Elgin's reception at the Hyderabad Station!

In the instances cited, it must be admitted that potentialities existed for the arising of complications that had no precedent, and which would have been due solely and only to Mr. Plowden's wilful display of a power that was certainly not authorised or relegated to him by the Government of India; and if he elects to deny the truth of what is here stated, letters exist which will prove conclusively that his recorded utterances are even worse than his actions—" litera scripta manet ! "

It is, however, clear that Mr. Plowden's policy and methods have been unsympathetic with the policy and methods of the Supreme Government, and have borne fruit disastrous to the interests of the Hyderabad State, for they have had the effect of reducing the Nizam to the position of a figure-head and have depreciated his power and prestige to an extent that has emboldened certain nobles and officials to set His Highness's " orders " at defiance. Instances of this could be cited—indeed, an inquiry now going on in Hyderabad more than proves this.

The Nizam has exercised the most consummate forbearance towards his Minister, but while His Highness's intentions in forbearing may be excellent, his discretion may be regarded as at fault; but it must be remembered that His Highness is placed in the monstrous position of being the target for a disaffected and disloyal Minister, on the one hand, and of an unsympathetic and autocratic Resident, on the other and His Highness's position in the middle of two such factors can be better imagined than described.

SERVER JUNG.

Simla,
13th September, 1897.

APPENDIX II.

" The address having been read, His Highness said that it gave him much pleasure to receive the address of welcome which the Mohammedan gentlemen had been good enough to present to him, and that his reply to the address would be read by Agha Mirza Beg (Nawab Server Jung Bahadur), His Highness's tutor.

" Agha Mirza Beg then read the following reply on behalf of His Highness :—

" ' Gentlemen, I have listened with great pleasure to your cordial, affectionate and congratulatory address. I know full well that the people of this country, Hindoos and Mohammedans alike, have with perseverance and energy devoted themselves wholly to the acquisition of the knowledge of the arts and sciences. Even in early times this country was not at all inferior to other countries in culture and civilization. Consequently, it is a source of extreme gratification to me when such people whose present attainments are worthy of imitation, and whose former condition was commendable, express their cordiality towards me in such a sincere way, and I shall always continue duly to appreciate this expression of sincere feeling.

" ' In the course of my present journey, I am, indeed, highly delighted to find my co-religionists in a prosperous and happy condition under the fostering care of the Imperial Government of India, with which my State has been long in terms of firm alliance and hearty friendship.

" ' I am exceedingly desirous to travel, and the more I heard of the glowing accounts of this country and the praises of its people, the more anxious I became to visit it. The Deccan is very far from Bengal ; and as long journeys in former days were very troublesome, difficult and perilous, the people of my State seldom came to this part of the country, and it is for this reason that the

Mohammedans of this country and the people of the Deccan have hitherto remained, comparatively speaking, strangers to one another. But nowadays, under the good and highly beneficent administration of the Government of India this reason no longer exists.

" ' It is true that I am the first member of my family who has come to this country, but I now entertain a strong hope that a regular intercourse will be established between the learned and talented inhabitants of this country and the people of my State ; and I feel sure that the results of my present journey will prove a source of immense benefit to my subjects, for, whatever experience and knowledge I gain during this journey shall be fully utilized in the administration of my State and in securing happiness to my subjects. This was indeed, one of the great objects of my present journey, though the one mentioned by you is also quite correct.

" ' The Exhibition certainly shows the great advance made in the cultivation of arts and the extension of commerce, and will, no doubt, prove a course of considerable benefit to the country and its inhabitants.

" ' Gentlemen, you are also quite right in your belief that, after my assumption of the management of the affairs of my State, which is shortly to take place under the sanction of the Imperial Government, I shall devote my head and heart to the good of my State and the welfare of my subjects, and continue to do my best to advance the cause of learning and the cultivation of the arts : and I shall take particular care to see that neither the civilization of the East is lost, nor the acquirement of all that is good in Western civilization neglected.

" ' In conclusion, I have to express my very great pleasure to find that you, gentlemen, are the members of a famous and well-known society that has, for many years under the fostering care of the Imperial Government, exerted its utmost in the advancement of education, and it is a source of great gratification to me to see that your efforts in this direction have been crowned with success.

" ' I assure you that I shall be ready at all times to give my cordial support and patronage to your noble pursuits and wise efforts, and it will always be a source of much gratification to me to hear of the good results of your endeavours in the cause of Mohammedan education in Bengal, as they may be attained from time to time.

" 'I now accept your address with great pleasure and thank you for the kind wishes contained therein regarding myself and my State."

After this the deputation withdrew.

(From " Englishman," January 5th, 1884)

APPENDIX III.

(Translation of Appendix IV. in Urdu).

My beloved son, Mirza Yahya Mahbub Quli Beg, has almost compelled me by his repeated entreaties to write these lines, which I have done in plain and unaffected Urdu, as spoken in the Fort of Delhi. I am afraid it will not meet with the approval of the present-day readers, as the language has undergone a good deal of change since the time of my respected uncle, Sir Syed Ahmed, and modern writers have almost metamorphosed it by borrowing forms of literary expression from European languages.

Languages have come into existence to enable Man to express in words what he perceives by his senses, and therefore, on sociological grounds, a nation's native idioms and words are better suited for the expression of its ideas and sentiments than the words of a foreign language spoken by another race with different social ideals. Besides, it does not necessarily follow that a conquered race should adopt the language spoken by the conquerors. There are many examples to the contrary in the history of past ages. For instance, " Greece when conquered, conquered its conquerors," and imposed its culture on the Romans ; and even in India, Urdu, which is derived from the Sanscrit and Hindi, prevailed over Persian and Turkish. Says Ghalib :—

> " If they ask you how is it possible for Urdu to rival Persian, you have only to recite a few verses of Ghalib to convince them."

Urdu, a language of Brahmanic parentage, is now well-known all over the world, from America in the West to Japan in the East, and from the frozen North to the

Southern Seas; and we fervently pray that it may acquire yet still more brilliance and maintain its supremacy. Bengali is spoken in Bengal, Marathi in Maharashtra, Gujrati in Gujrat, and Sindhi in Sindh; but Urdu, the beloved of the Emperors of Delhi and of Mir Saudha and Insha, is understood all over India. In our own times His Exalted Highness Nawab Mir Osman Ali Khan Bahadur, the cultured and illustrious Ruler of Hyderabad has established an Urdu University which leads us to hope that this all-conquering language, which has already supplanted a number of vernaculars, will acquire still more influence.

These lines are written in the classical language of the Fort of Delhi, and it will therefore not be out of place, if I quote here some verses written by inmates of the Fort, by natives of Delhi, and by others, so that the variations in the language of the writers of these three classes can be easily detected.

A princess of the Royal House of Delhi says:—

> " See how playful she is! With hushed footsteps, and with her curled locks in her hands, she comes to me and tries to frighten me by crying ' Snake '."

An understanding critic can see how sweet the language is, and how artistically has the princess expressed an old idea. The word for " see " in the original is really an infinitive, but, in the peculiar language of the Fort, it is used here as an imperative. The lady's husband was Mirza Sabir, who died at Benares. His " Diwan " (Poetical Works), is full of such idiomatic expressions.

While Saadat Yar Khan Rangin was the inventor of Rekhti—verses written in the peculiar language of women—Zauq, Momin, and Dagh, all wrote in the language of the Fort and of the City. I, myself, was responsible for the following:—

> " My heart, of which I was so inordinately proud,
> Thou hast made it absolutely worthless, O Tyrant! "

and Mir Taqi says:—

> " You may abuse others to your heart's content, but if you dare to say anything to me, well, the same to you! "

Poets not belonging to Delhi have enriched Urdu poetry by their beautiful themes, but their forms of expression are not the same as those used by the people of Delhi. Their works are pretty well-known, and it is therefore unnecessary for me to cite any example of their poetry.

In our own times, writers who know English are turning Urdu into a European language; but some writers of novels and stories are great offenders for they show absolutely no regard for purity of language. It is only Urdu which can be the common language of India—and even now it is the "lingua franca" of India.

When I started from Lucknow for Hyderabad, I had to travel from Jubbulpore by bullock-cart. This journey took me nearly eight months, but although I was entirely unfamiliar with the route, and had to camp at nights in jungles or in villages consisting of a few huts, I had never any difficulty in making myself understood. I did not know the language of those whom I met, but they knew mine (Urdu). The same thing happened to me in Ceylon.

Our far-seeing Government, with some subtle ends in view, tried to bring about a Civil War between the two sisters (Hindi and Urdu)—or, more correctly speaking, between mother and daughter—but blood is thicker than water, and Urdu has found a new life by appearing in a Hindu garb in Hindi letters, while retaining all its peculiar forms of expression, vocabulary and idioms. Urdu can now proudly say to its great opponent, Sir A. Macdonnel:

> "I was not destined to die, so even your kick served to revive me, although you had kicked me with the intention of making my life extinct."

The word 'Hindi' gives rise to strange thoughts What is the derivation of 'Hindu' 'Hindi' and 'Hindustan'? and why is this Continent, which is surrounded by the Himalayas, the Ocean and the countries of Indo-China, called Hindustan, although it consists of different countries, and is peopled by races widely differing from one another as regards their religion, social characteristics, etc.? Yes, why is this Continent called by one single name, and when and why did its people accept this name? My impression is that there must be some other name for this Continent in the ancient literature of China, Tibet and

Indo-China. In ancient times, when the Kianians Sassani dynasties ruled in Persia, the name "Hindustan" was given only to the Northern part of the country; and then, later on, as the number of travellers and merchants increased, the name began to be applied to the whole country from the Punjab to the Eastern limits of Bengal. Northern India is called 'Hind and Sind' by Arab historians but there was no particular name for the Southern part of the Continent, where each Province was called by its own name—e.g. Malabar, etc. Indeed, Southern India was not regarded as a part of India, but was supposed to be a separate country.

Muslim historians retained this nomenclature till the extinction of their Empire, and the words Sind, Hind, and Deccan occur frequently in their works.

But there is no word in the language of the people of this Continent which can be applicable to the whole of it; and my personal opinion is that the people of Europe were responsible for this erroneous view. They thought that they had reached India when they landed on the Southern shores of the Continent, and they dubbed the whole country "India," calling its people "Indians," irrespective of the community to which they belonged. These names "India" and "Indians," were thereafter adopted in all countries of the world, with slight variations due to linguistic peculiarities.

In this Continent which is inhabited by people of different races, with a variety of religions and languages, the most civilized are the followers of the Vedas, Puranas and Shastras. Their warriors founded kingdoms in various parts of the Continent and their men of learning made such marked progress in the various branches of knowledge that they spread civilization and refinement, not only in their own country, but also in the surrounding countries of China, Burma, Siam and the Islands of the Eastern Archipelago; their influence is perceptible in these countries even after the lapse of ages. Similarly their craftsmen taught the people of these countries the arts of cilivized life. I think the people of the West, too, have borrowed freely from the civilization and culture of the people of the Vedas.

The other peoples of India adopted the religion and social ideals of the people of the Vedas, although they differed from them in race and language ; and so the people of India have one religion, although, like the various nations of Europe, they are of different races and speak different languages.

The Persians called the people of the Vedas, " Hindus," and the country lying between Punjab and Bengal, Hindustan. Later on, the whole country began to be called " Hindustan," and the people Hindus ; and the Europeans, by their mistaken zeal, gave currency to this throughout the world.

The Christians now call it " East India," and the Muslims call it " Hind " ; but the real natives of the country have no particular name for it. In modern times, under the influence of Western education, the natives have begun to divide themselves into two classes namely, Hindu and Un-Hindu—i.e. those who regard the Vedas as revealed books, and those who are incapable of doing so.

THE END.

*

آخری درج شده تاریخ پر یه کتاب مستعار
لی گئی تهی مقرره مدت سے زیاده رکهنے کی
صورت میں ایك آنه یومیه دیرانه لیا جائیگا۔

خانہ

عثمانیہ

ن مجلس اعلیٰ، مجلس رفقا، مجلس انتظامی،
جماعت نصاب پانچ کتابیں ایک ماہ تک اپنے پاس رکھ سکینگے

۲- اساتذہ جامعہ عثمانیہ وکلیات ملحقہ و گزشتہ عہدہ داران جامعہ
اور اراکین دارالترجمہ دس کتابیں ایک ماہ تک اپنے پاس رکھ سکینگے۔

۳- طیلسانین ختم شدہ دو کتابیں بی اے اور انٹرمیڈیٹ
کے طلبہ تین کتابیں ایم اے ال ال بی و تحقیقاتی جماعتوں کے
طلبہ پانچ کتابیں دو ہفتہ تک اپنے پاس رکھ سکینگے۔

۴- مدت مقررہ پر کتابیں واپس نہ ہوں تو طلبہ بحساب
ایک آنہ یومیہ فی کتاب جرمانہ لیا جائیگا۔

۵- بشرط موقع کتابیں مکرر جاری کی جا سکینگی مگر اس غرض
کے لئے کتب خانہ میں کتاب کا لانا لازم ہے۔

۶- کتابیں گم یا خراب ہو جائیں تو مستعیر پر ذمہ داری
عائد ہوگی۔

۷- کتابوں پر کسی قسم کا نشان سیاہی یا پنسل سے
نہ لگایا جائے۔

۸- قلمی نسخے اور حوالے کی کتابیں
جاری نہ کی جائیگی۔